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THE DEVELOPMENT OF QUR'ANIC CALLIGRAPHY
AND ILLUMINATION UNDER THE MAMLUKES 1300-
1376 AND IN IRAQ AND IRAN IN THE SAME PERIOD

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ARTS
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DAVID JAMES
MA (DUNELM)

VOL 2.

SUPERVISOR : DR R.W.J. AUSTIN

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Poor text in the original
thesis.

PAGE
NUMBERING
AS ORIGINAL

Transliteration

ا	b
ب	t
ت	th
ث	j
ج	h
ح	kh
خ	d
د	dh
ذ	r
ذ	z
ر	s
ز	sh
س	ṣ
ش	d
ص	t
ض	z
ط	'
ظ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
ه	h
و	w
ي	y

Short vowel are transcribed as follows: fatha -a , damma -u , kasra -i. The two diphthongs appear as aw and ay. The definite article in compound names is always given as al , ie ^cAbdal-Hamīd and the word ibn when it occurs between two names as bin.

PREFACE

In 1976 I paid several visits to the Qur'an Exhibition in the British Library organised by Dr Martin Lings and Mr Yasin Safadi. Prior to that year my interests in Islamic manuscripts had centred on illustrated ones, but in 1976 I began to develop a much greater interest in Qur'anic illumination and calligraphy. As the result of a number of conversations with Martin Lings I decided to make the development of illumination and calligraphy in Mamluke Qur'ans the subject of this doctoral thesis. One of the main reasons for this ,**apart** from the obvious importance of fourteenth century Mamluke Qur'ans was the large number of Mamluke Qur'ans to which I had access at the Chester Beatty Library.

My concern has been almost entirely with technical development up to and including the period of Sultan Sha^cbān , 1363 - 76. I have not dealt with subject of binding since so few Mamluke Qur'ans have their original covers.

Between 1977 and 1982 the pursuit of this research has taken me to many countries in the Middle East , as well as Europe and the United States. Colleagues , too numerous to mention , have without exception given me all possible help. To them all I express my deepest thanks.

This research was made financially possible by a number of grants from the following institutions in Ireland and the United Kingdom:

The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin; The National University of Ireland (University College, Dublin); The University of Durham.

I would like to thank Dr Ralph Austin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of Durham for his help with this thesis in numerous areas , Dr Patrick Henchy of the Chester Beatty Library for enabling me to be released from my normal duties on several occasions and the examiners of the completed work for agreeing to read it.

Above all I would like to thank my wife , Verna, for all her assistance and help over the past several years. No one knows more than she how much time and effort has gone into collecting and assembling this information.

David James.

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to trace the development of Qur'anic illumination and calligraphy under the Mamlukes from the earliest known Qur'an of 1304 down to and including the reign of Sultan Al-Ashraf Sha^hban, 1363-1376 when the finest manuscripts of the period were made. As this phenomenon needs to be set in context vis-a-vis not only what was happening in Egypt prior to 1363, but also developments in Iraq and Iran whose manuscripts are believed to have had a major influence, those areas are also examined in detail.

The initial introduction surveys the development of the Qur'an as a work of art down to the beginning of the Mamluke period, to place Mamluke, Iranian and Iraqi manuscripts in proper historical perspective. Existing literature is surveyed and a statement of problems facing the student presented.

Chapter One deals with Cairo up to 1330. Most of the manuscripts examined are the work of a team of craftsmen of whom we first become aware as the producers of the Qur'an of Baybars al-Jāshankīr in the British Library, which in many ways may be regarded as the key manuscript of the period. The careers of the calligrapher Ibn al-Wahīd and the illuminators are studied on the basis of: i) their known works; ii) works attributable to them; iii) historical sources.

The Second and Third Chapters examine what was happening in Iraq and Iran from 1300 to 1316 and study in detail the four great Qur'anic masterpieces of the century: three made for Öljaytū in Baghdad, Mosul and Hamadan, and one probably commissioned

by his predecessor, Ghāzān. The careers of the calligraphers and illuminators involved in these Qur'ans is surveyed here , and in all subsequent chapters on the basis of i,ii and iii in the previous chapter. At the end of Chapter Two relations between Cairo and Iraq during the early years of the century are studied and evidence produced to show that painters familiar with developments in Baghdad were in Egypt several decades before the appearance of the Hamadan Qur'an , to which such importance is usually attached.

Chapter Three treats Iran and deals with the problem of the Hamadan Qur'an , relating it to contemporary manuscripts made for Öljaytū , explaining how it came to Cairo , and examining what effect it had there. In the same chapter another closely connected fragment is studied : the only surviving juz' from a Qur'an made for Rashīd al-Dīn , probably at the Rab^c-i Rashīdī.

Chapter Four traces developments in Egypt and Syria from 1320 to 1356 and concentrates on two different categories of manuscript. First those copied and we believe illuminated by Ahmad al-Mutatabbib in Cairo around 1330. The location is given in several colophons. These manuscripts demonstrate the decline of the Sandal tradition in Cairo, (he being the master illuminator of the Baybars Qur'an). This can be contrasted with the situation in Damascus where, we believe, an important Qur'an was copied and illuminated at the end of the fourth decade. In previous chapters we have tried to assemble information on Syrian calligraphers and artists prior to 1340 , though this is difficult due to the absence of manuscripts of unquestionable Syrian provenance. In the same chapter two problem Qur'ans by calligraphers of the school of Yāqūt are

dealt with. One was apparently copied in Cairo in 1344 , while the other was certainly there in 1356. We believe that it can be shown that the first is genuine and adds a new fact to the sparse biography of the calligrapher , Mubarak-Shah al-Suyufi.

In Chapter Five Iran and Iraq during roughly the same period are studied. Four major series of manuscripts are examined to show what was happening in those areas. Perhaps the most important is that made by Yahya al-Sufi in Shiraz in 1344-5 which contains full , and virtually complete, documentation. We also deal with another 'problem' group : manuscripts with Turkic inter-linear translations. These we attempt to show all date from the fourteenth century , though whether of Anatolian , Azerbaijani , or perhaps Central Asian origin, is unclear.

Chapters Six and Seven examine the Qur'ans of Sultan Shahban , his mother Khwand Barakah and several of his amirs. These can be divided into three groups. I consists of minor works. II comprises several closely related manuscripts rightly regarded as a 'classic' Mamluke type. The calligraphy and especially the illumination of this group is studied in detail to show that its origins (the illumination at least) lie in earlier Mamluke work. Group III is entirely different. It consists of those manuscripts illuminated by Ibrahim al-Amidi. This outstanding painter is the illuminator of Cairo National Library Ms 10 : a fact we know from his own colophon. However, so unique and distinct is his style that it is possible to attribute a number of Qur'ans to his hand. An attempt to define exactly the nature of his style is made and traced through several manuscripts. We believe that it can be shown that the painter was trained in

in Iraq and Western Iran , where he worked for a time before coming to Cairo in the thirteen-sixties. The illumination produced by him marks the culmination of the Iranian/Iraqi tradition in Cairo : one which makes its appearance in the earliest Mamluke Qur'an of Baybars al-Jāshankīr.

All the inscriptions found in these manuscripts have been fully translated. The originals , Figs 1-31 are located in an appendix at the end along with such important biographical information as we have been able to uncover in printed and manuscript sources. The thesis is accompanied by a portfolio of photographs to illustrate all points made.

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Introduction.

Introduction.

i) Qur'anic illumination and calligraphy to 1250; a) Kufic Qur'ans

There can be few museums and libraries with Islamic collections that do not have at least some pages from a kufic Qur'an. Kufic Qur'an script of the 9th and 10th centuries is perhaps the most easily identifiable of all the numerous forms of Arabic script and is certainly the most majestic.

Detailed studies of the development of kufic have been made, especially of the early types, by Anbot,¹ Karabacek,² Jeffery³ and other scholars during the first half of this century. Despite this, the field of kufic Qur'ans remains for many scholars a rather hazy area where facts are thin on the ground, but nevertheless have given rise to long complex and often heated arguments.

The basic problem is that kufic Qur'ans, unlike other manuscripts, are never dated, and are always unsigned - apart from those with spurious attributions to 'Uthmān - usually complete with bloodstains - and 'Alī. Nor do any bear dates. Occasionally we are fortunate in having manuscripts with waqf inscriptions that are probably correctly assumed to be contemporary, though we can not be certain that this is always the case. Furthermore, the changes occurring in kufic Qur'ans are slight at first glance, even though the manuscripts were produced over several centuries.

The position, then, is that we have a large quantity of fragmentary Qur'ans (there are no complete ones), all undated, almost none of which we can attribute positively to any specific area between Spain and Central Asia.

At this point let us look quickly at the manuscripts - kufic is often used as generic term to cover at least six different though related

types. The earliest identifiable type is mekkan. This differs from kufic in the known examples only insofar as the alif inclines slightly to the right. Initially there were other differences but these disappeared so that kufic proper and mekkan were written in virtually the same way. Mekkan Qur'ans, unlike kufic ones, have a vertical rather than horizontal format.

Two other early types which have been positively identified are ma'il,⁴ pointed out by Karabacek, and mashq,⁵ identified by Nabia Abbot. Ma'il⁶ looks very primitive with tall blunt-ended vertical letters, usually - though not always - 'ma'il,' that is to say 'inclining' to the right.⁶ All surviving copies are on manuscripts of vertical format. In mashq Qur'ans the script is usually drawn out or extended horizontally. This technique is used in later kufic manuscripts, though these are to be distinguished from true mashq. Whereas mekkan and ma'il are Hijazi scripts, though they may well have been used in Kufah, mashq arose in southern Iraq. Like the Hijazi scripts, however, the earliest examples⁷ appear in vertical format, not the horizontal one.

Kufic proper in fact consists of many variants, but its outstanding characteristics are a bold, majestic precision, in which the letter alif inclines sharply to right in its lower part. These manuscripts, which date from the ninth to eleventh centuries, are always in horizontal format.

The two remaining types are Western kufic, of which there appear to be two distinct categories, one resembling ordinary kufic, the other Eastern kufic, but both characterised by deep curves below the line of script. Finally there is Eastern kufic which is readily recognisable by its upward vertical strokes sweeping obliquely to the right, its similarity

to maskh and its use of the 'modern' system of vocalisation.

The only dated specimens occur among the three latter groups, there are no mekkan, mā'il or mashq manuscripts with contemporary waqf inscriptions. Dated waqfiyyahs are so rare that it will be worth mentioning them at this point. The earliest Qur'an with a dated waqf inscription is one divided between the National Library, Cairo, and Cambridge University. This bears the date 866.⁸ The next three are also in Cairo, dated 880, 883 and 884.⁹ According to the late D. S. Rice these three Qur'ans are dated 909:¹⁰ one in Topkapi,¹¹ one in the National Museum Damascus and one in the Chester Beatty.¹² However, the latter - which can only be the one Rice referred to, is dated 911 and we have not been able to establish whether all bear this date - in which case they are probably part of the same manuscript, endowed to the Great Mosque of Damascus in 911, or whether the other two are dated 909 and therefore part, or parts of separate Qur'ans. From the first half of the 10th century we have a small number of manuscripts divided among the libraries of Paris Istanbul and Cairo, dated 912, 919, 920, 948 and 950.¹³

Also in the 10th century we have the first appearance of Qur'ans in Eastern kufic script. The earliest is dated 905 and is in the Chester Beatty Library. The Library has other important examples, possessing both the earliest example of true Eastern kufic, in a copy of the Mawāfiq of Niffarī dated 955,¹⁴ and the first example of a Qur'an in this script.¹⁵ This is one part of a four volume Qur'an, dated 972, another part of which is in Istanbul. This incidentally is the earliest known Qur'an on paper as opposed to parchment.

There are a number of dated eastern kufic Qur'ans from the 12th and 13th centuries. The last known manuscript in Eastern kufic script is

one in the Mashhad Shrine Library, which bears the date 1223.¹⁶

As far as Western kufic Qur'ans are concerned, there is only one dated example. This is the manuscript commissioned by the old nurse of the Zirid monarch al-Mu^cizz in 1020.¹⁷

Despite their antiquity and rarity the ma'il Qur'ans are generally in excellent condition. We know of at least four copies, the most famous being that in the British Library.¹⁸ This has the classic features of ma'il though not the alif bending to the right which is supposed to be a feature. Karabacek who identified ma'il points out the similarity between the British Library manuscript and one reproduced in Moritz (No. 44).¹⁹ This in turn is virtually identical to Ma 1615 in the Chester Beatty Library.²⁰ There is also an interesting series of at least three other ma'il Qur'ans which were re-used by Christian scribes as palimpsests.²¹ These manuscripts like all the other groups are not one single entity, but have quite considerable divergences. Nevertheless all can be attributed to the 8th century. They exhibit the features of manuscripts of that time: little vocalisation and diacriticals, ayahe separated by clusters of strokes, surahs separated by lines and no titles. The only illumination to be found in these manuscripts is a simple band of decoration between the suras.

The same feature occurs in one of the most important of mashq manuscripts. The decoration is much more elaborate, reminiscent in many ways of Coptic work, though as it is the only form of decoration we are probably justified in attributing it to the late 8th or early 9th century.

²²
There are at least two examples of true mashq Qur'ans, in which the ligatures are not simply extended but the script itself is flattened and rather squat in appearance.

As far as we can tell from the early examples the original format of Qur'ans was vertical, not horizontal as we see in the kufic Qur'ans. The origins of both formats is hard to explain. Why did the early muslim scribes choose a vertical rather than a square or horizontal format? The christians of the Hijaz are not believed to have had any written scriptures. While the jews, even they possessed copies of the Pentateuch, would have had them in scroll form. We can only presume that the format was based on that of the Greek or Syriac codex with which the muslims would have come in contact after the 630's.

Why then did the format change in Kufah to a horizontal one? This can hardly have been to facilitate the writing of mashq since the earliest mashq manuscripts are in vertical format and kufic in any case does not always use the technique of elongation.

The usual explanation is that the Qur'ans were modelled on the format of monumental inscriptions. This may be the case but there are no inscriptions of the appropriate type before the 3rd Islamic century.²³

²⁴ Ettinghausen offered an additional, though I think rather fanciful alternative: namely that in a mosque the worshippers line up along the horizontal axis instead of across it as in a church and the horizontal axis of the Qur'an was a reflexion of this.

It is interesting that this new format arose in Iraq the country in the Middle East with the largest and best established jewish community of the entire area at this time. Hebrew scrolls of the Pentateuch are carefully prepared according to religious law. They are made of separate sections which are sewn together. These sections are exactly the same shape as the pages of the kufic Qur'an. It is the only other example of a written document having this shape. Is it possible that

such pieces may have been used for writing copies of the Qur'an in Kufah, perhaps acquired through jewish converts? The majority of muslims in Mesopotamia were after all converted jews, christians or Zoroastrians. Given the relative scarcity of parchment there is no reason why this could not have been so. Such things did occur. There is the proven use of Qur'an pages for christian canonical writings. In 1914 these were published by Mingana.²⁵ If such scroll pieces had been used, or even re-used as palimpsests it would have been natural for them to have been written on horizontally rather than vertically.

The development of the kufic script has been dealt with at length in numerous works and hardly needs any further elaboration. Briefly, the script arose in the 1st Islamic century and existed alongside mekkan - and several other scripts which have disappeared without trace. The differences between the two were never very great and mekkan and kufic finally merged and the term kufic became synonymous with Qur'anic script. Manuscripts were produced over a period lasting more than three centuries. Despite the conservatism of scribes different types arose, some of which have been documented, though many have not.

Medieval muslim historians of the Arabic script unfortunately give us virtually no guide to the development of kufic. Almost all the terminology refers to the cursive forms, despite the fact that kufic was in use for several centuries.

Ibn al-Nadīm, for example, tells us only that after the rise of the Abbasids, people continued to use the 'old' script²⁶ i.e. kufic. But he has no detailed description of the characteristics of the script.

Ma'il and mashq were identified by Karabacek and Nabia Abbot by examining the surviving examples and comparing these with the meagre

information available in the writings of the historians.

Many manuscripts do have easily distinguishable calligraphic and vocal features which make categorisation into sub-types possible. The development of vocalisation is already well-established. First the system of coloured dots, introduced in the first Islamic century, then the adoption of short strokes taken over from Syriac, with the one in use today coming into gradual use from the second Islamic century. However some Qur'ans unusual and elaborate systems that appear to have been confined to specific areas and eras. Until the manuscripts are properly sorted out it is difficult to make much progress in surveying the process of development.

The question of provenance is another complex matter. Because large numbers of kufic Qur'ans survive in Qairawan, North Africa has been proposed as one of the major centres of production. However the earliest date we have for the existence of true kufic manuscripts in North Africa is 1293 AD when the Qairawan Mosque library had an inventory made of the contents.²⁷ We know, for example, that the famous 'blue' Qur'an was there at that time. However this was at least 400 years after it was written. In all probability these manuscripts - or a proportion of them did originate there, but their mere existence in that area over the past 700 years is not conclusive proof of their origin..

One Qur'an that we know definitely was produced in North Africa is that made in 1020 for the old nurse of the Zirid monarch al-Mu^Cizz. This is copied in a type of kufic which despite its having been called Western kufic more closely resembles Eastern kufic. The difference between this manuscript and those of the second variety of Western kufic is so marked that it is difficult to believe that both were produced in the same place.

Nevertheless the North African origin of the 'Nurse's Qur'an' is beyond doubt. This being so might we not be justified in attributing more of the so-called Eastern kufic manuscripts to North Africa and Egypt? This would certainly explain why we have no Qur'ans from the Fatimid period.

Equally, the total absence of Qur'ans from Islamic Spain before the 12th century can perhaps be explained by wrong attribution. It is hardly believable that nothing survives from the contemporaries of the Abbasids, the Spanish Umayyads - 8th to 11th centuries. The libraries of Istanbul contain numerous maghribi Qur'ans brought there by Moorish refugees from the 13th century onwards. It is hard to believe that none of these possessed older treasured copies which were taken away for safe-keeping after the falls of Cordova, Seville and Valencia.

As the surviving art and architecture of the Spanish Umayyads was very much influenced by that of Syria, in theory, we should not expect Qur'ans produced in Spain to differ much from those at the other end of the Mediterranean. There is no way of identifying these as yet. There is however one portion of a Qur'an in the Chester Beatty Library, with remarkable decoration that can best be explained by assuming that it came from Spain - perhaps North Africa. It is probably quite late as the vivid colours are unusual in kufic manuscripts but quite typical of maghribi Qur'ans. Another portion of the Qur'an survives in the TIEM.

Illumination in kufic Qur'ans began simply as a band dividing the surahs. The band became a title, usually written in gold kufic, often with a palmette at one end. These could be pear- or circular-shaped filled with a simple fret design or there was a more elaborate winged variety. When surah-heading ornament developed fully it could be quite

magnificent, especially the palmettes. There is one Qur'an which has its palmettes in the form of little trees and shrubs.²⁸ In later times the former simple method continued among maghribi Qur'ans while the more elaborate types are found in the East.

The series of strokes separating the āyahs become circles, or pyramids of circles with each 5th and 10th indicated in a more elaborate form and with medallions bearing the words five and ten in the margin.

As in later cursive manuscripts the main virtuoso areas were at the beginning and end of the portion, or the complete copy. The chronological development of these pages is along the following lines.

The earliest consist of a tripartite division of the page: a central motif flanked by rectangular upright panels. One of the best known examples is CBL Ms 1406, which Ettinghausen discussed in detail.²⁹ He pointed out the similarity between this and that of the Vienna Dioscorides of 512, and suggested Syria as the place of origin of both, mentioning the connection with a type of Coptic bookbinding also produced in Syria. The colours, gold and sepia are quite typical of kufic Qur'an illumination. So too is the fine winged palmette, the origins of which have been variously suggested as the ansa or handle on Roman inscriptions or the leafy finial attached to the stripe or clavus on Coptic garments. Another example is in CBL Ms 1407. Both designs occur in later paper manuscripts. This Qur'an contains a fine complete finis-piece which is a good example of the second type.³⁰ It consists of a rectangular panel surrounded by a border into compartments. Patterns of this type are of considerable antiquity.³¹ We can see similar ones in earlier Hiberno/Anglo-Saxon manuscripts which probably ultimately go back to the same common source.

The next type is one in which the entire area is divided into squares

or rectangles. In a page in the Freer Gallery there are a number of interesting additional features.³² Both the short pieces cutting across the corners and the tiny checkerboard pattern are found with increasing frequency in later manuscripts.

At least three other types are frequently employed. There is one which looks as if the main pattern has been cut from a longer panel.³³

There is another in which semi-circular or triangular pieces intersect in the centre.³⁴ The third is one that occurs very often and consists of two identical motifs side by side on each half of the page. This seems to have been quite a late development, resulting from the all over pattern being divided into two parts. We can see what appears to be the beginnings of this in the Qur'an portion dated 911.³⁵ Perhaps manuscripts with this feature date from after that year. One of the latest Qur'ans we know has this design. The Spanish or North African Qur'an referred to earlier. It would appear that this type of pattern developed specifically for horizontal format Qur'ans, as there is no trace of it in earlier or later manuscripts. Most of the designs could have been used, and indeed were, for vertical format manuscripts.

Almost all other designs, with the exception of the one which consists of a piece of extended pattern, continue into the era of paper manuscripts.

b) Qur'ans in cursive scripts.

Qur'ans in Eastern kufic script continued to be produced until the second decade of the thirteenth century. Their disappearance coincides with the arrival of the Mongols in Iran. The decoration of these manuscripts is the same as many in cursive scripts, with the exception of one in so-called 'Qarmathian' kufic where every page is given an arabesque scroll

background.

The earliest Qur'an in a cursive script is the famous Ibn al-Bawwāb manuscript dated 1001 copied in Baghdad.³⁶ This, like most cursive Qur'ans of the next two centuries is in naskh. A Qur'an dated 1186 in the Chester Beatty Library³⁷ is written in a combination of thulth and naskh, apparently the first instance of this technique where several scripts occur on the same page. There are a number of examples prior to 1300 but it was under the Timurids that this manner of presentation was developed. There are very few fourteenth century Iranian examples and no Mamluke ones. Other manuscripts are written in a large rather ungainly thulth, the earliest of which occurs in a Qur'an made in Azerbaijan between 1210 and 1225.³⁸ Manuscripts of this type continued to be produced well into the fourteenth century and we shall discuss some of them in the course of this study. Almost every copy produced in Iran prior to 1300 is in black ink. One interesting exception is a manuscript divided between the Chester Beatty Library,³⁹ the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Archological Museum Bursa. It is written in a minute form of the script used by Ibn al-Wahīd for the 1304 Baybars Qur'an. Illumination however shows the manuscript to be of Iranian twelfth or thirteenth century origin.

Most of the cursive Qur'ans we know come from Iran or Iraq. There are very few that can be attributed elsewhere on the basis of documented manuscripts. Despite this a great variety of styles and colour-schemes are in evidence. Colour schemes vary considerably. Some manuscripts are illuminated almost entirely in gold, others have no gold at all - or very little - and subtle muted colours, while there is another group with vivid, multicolour decorations, combined with great skill. We often

find these types being used contemporaneously.

Whatever colour schemes are used, the designs of frontispiece prior to 1200 tend to follow those employed in kufic Qur'ans but in vertical instead of horizontal format. There are exceptions of course, and even where earlier designs are followed there are many additional elements. There are basically three types which have been elaborated by Ettinghausen in his survey of Seljuq manuscript illumination⁴⁰:

1. A geometric one which can be sub-divided into several subtypes;
2. a trellis of intersecting lines; 3. arabesques around a central figure, or in registers.

Opening pages are quite distinctive, having a single rectangular panel at the top of a page and a narrow border on the three remaining sides.⁴¹ This type continues in a slightly modified form into the fourteenth century. Surah-headings consists of the name and verse-count of the surah in a rectangle with an elaborate palmette. These can be simple or exceptionally elaborate as are seen in a thirteenth century Qur'an probably from the Shiraz area, now in the Chester Beatty Library.⁴² There is another type where the panel is given a tri-partite division, usually combinations of circles and lozenges.⁴³ This also continues into the fourteenth century.

Various marginal ornaments are used to indicate the numbering of ayahs. Usually each tenth ayah is marked by a circle, often with a fine border of hair-line strokes, while each fifth one is marked by a drop-shape, which may be combined with a palmette-shape to make a symbol looking rather like an urn.

ii) The Bahri Mamluke period (1256-1399) and its problems.

The period from 1256 up to and including the reign of Sultan Sha^Cban

(1363-76) is our main area of interest, but from 1256 until 1304 no Qur'ans have survived. There are one or two manuscripts which may have been produced in this half century however none has complimentary documentation which could corroborate a pre-1300 dating. Having determined to confine our examination to dated manuscripts wherever possible we have no choice but to begin with the Qur'an made for Baybars al-Jashankir in 1304.

One of the main problems in earlier studies of the Bahri period has been the inability to distinguish between Mamluke and Iraqi/Iranian manuscripts. Even in the latest study by Esin Atil⁴⁴ the two are still confused. There is also difficulty in separating Syrian and Egyptian Qur'ans.

There are a number of Qur'ans which bear certificates of commissioning and many more bearing only wagfiyyat. In several cases, the Sha^cban manuscripts for example, commissioning and endowing were virtually synonymous; in others - the Qur'an of Sirghitmish al-Nasiri, for example - this cannot be presumed to be so.

Mamluke Qur'ans are scattered through many collections. Even this study cannot pretend to supply a definitive list of manuscripts produced during the years under discussion. No doubt other manuscripts will emerge in the future, to supplement several parts of this research.

Most Mamluke Qur'ans were in their original places of endowment until the end of the last century when many were collected and housed in the Khedival Library, now the National Library, Cairo. Apart from these manuscripts the main collections are in Istanbul at the Topkapi Library of the Turk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi. Outside of the Middle East there are several libraries which possess important Mamluke Qur'ans. The

major collections are, first the Chester Beatty Library which has more dated Mamluke Qur'ans⁴⁵ than any other institution and secondly the British Library which has what is probably the key manuscript of the Bahrī period, the Baybars Qur'an of 1304.

When we come to study the history of calligraphy in this period we are forced to depend almost entirely on the Qur'ans themselves. Apart from the biography of Ibn al-Wahīd we have no detailed written information on calligraphers other than the occasional reference to the fact that a person mentioned in a chronicle, or biographical dictionary may have been a scribe or secretary.

The Mamluke authors whom one would expect to give substantial accounts of calligraphers like Al-Qalqashandī, have little to say. In his massive compendium for scribes and secretaries, the Subh al-A^Cshā, Al-Qalqashandī gives a truncated history of earlier Mamluke calligraphers, ending with Al-Ziftawī 750/1349 - 807/1404. The fullest account appears to be that of the eighteenth century Egyptian author Al-Zabīdī (1145/1732 - ?) in his Hikmat al-Ishraq ilā Kuttāb al-Āfaq.⁴⁶ According to this writer the tradition of calligraphy in Egypt goes back to its Yāqūt al-Rūmī who died in Aleppo in 626/1228. Yāqūt was the master of Abu'l-Hasan bin Zengī, called "Al-Walī al-Ajamī", who was followed by ^CAfif al-Dīn Muhammad al-Halabī, also called "al-Shīrāzī". The latter had a son ^CImād al-Dīn Muhammad who was his pupil and a leading grammarian and calligrapher. ^CImād al-Dīn taught Shams al-Dīn Muhammad bin ^CAlī bin Abī Raqbah (or Ruqaybah), the muhtasib of Fustat. He was the master of Abū ^CAlī Muhammad bin Ahmad bin al-Ziftawī al-Mukattib, who composed a treatise on calligraphy, the 'Minhāj al-Isābah' and was the teacher of the well-known scholar, Ibn Hajar. A contemporary of Al-Ziftawī and fellow pupil

of the same masters was Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī, whose pupil was Nūr al-Dīn al-Wasīmī. The famous ^CAbdal-Rahmān bin Yūsuf called "Ibn al-Sā'igh" (769/1367-845/1441) was taught by Al-Wasīmī. At Qalqashandī mentions another pupil of Al-Ziftāwī, Zayn al-Dīn Sha^Cbān bin Muhammad bin Dā'ūd al-Ātharī, the muhtasib of Cairo, who wrote a treatise on calligraphy entitled 'Al-^CInāyah al-Rabbāniyyah fi'l-Tarīqat al-Sha^Cbāniyyah'. Zayn al-Dīn left Cairo and went to Mecca and then on to India, returning to Mecca where he died.

Apart from Ibn al-Sā'igh there are no known examples of the works of these calligraphers. Furthermore, examination of the surviving material reveals many outstanding Mamluke calligraphers, whose names are not given, including suprisingly that of Ibn al-Wahīd, about whom we know more than any other Mamluke calligrapher.

There have been several accounts of manuscript and illumination including that of Qur'ans. The first person to talk in detail was Lane-Poole in his Art of the Saracens of Egypt. ⁴⁷ He gave brief descriptions of some of the most important Qur'ans but did discuss in detail the Baybars Qur'an of 1304 raising questions which were never answered and which we have re-examined in this study. At the end of the nineteenth century many of the surviving Mamluke Qur'ans in Cairo were studied by Bourgoin who ⁴⁸ produced exceptionally detailed drawings of the illumination. Despite the existence of these, no proper survey of Qur'an illumination was ever undertaken.

In the nineteen-thirties, an Egyptian student at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Berlin published a doctoral thesis on Islamic manuscript illumination in Egypt. ⁴⁹ In this rare work he described more than fifty manuscripts, the majority of which were Mamluke Qur'ans together with a

brief analysis and a list of all calligraphers that he had been able to identify in original sources.

⁵⁰
The Millenary exhibition of 1969 in Cairo included a number of Mamluke Qur'ans with full descriptions of each. Most of these were from the National Library but a small number came from the library of the Al-Azhar⁵¹ mosque.

1976 saw the appearance of the Qur'an Exhibition in London, accompanied by the useful catalogue of Lings and Safadi.⁵² This brought together almost all the major manuscripts of the fourteenth century for the first time and was undoubtedly the most significant event for the study of Mamluke Qur'ans after the publication of Bourgoins drawings.

There were a representative selection of Mamluke Qur'ans in the Hayward Gallery's Arts of Islam⁵³ exhibition in the same year, though these were entirely overshadowed by the British Library exhibition.

Lings book, The Qur'anic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination reproduced many of the finest Mamluke manuscripts in colour, thus providing scholars with an extremely useful visual reference work.

In 1980 the writer organised an exhibition of the Chester Beatty Qur'ans in facsimile, including all of the important Mamluke manuscripts in that collection.⁵⁴ In the catalogue he pointed out the importance of the illuminator Sandal, whose work is examined further in this study.

The fullest survey of Mamluke Qur'ans which has appeared to date is that in Esin Atil's catalogue⁵⁵ to the Mamluke exhibition in Washington in 1981. Unfortunately this is marred by a number of factual errors, an insistence on the importance of the thirty-part Qur'an, which is incorrect, and a reliance on the work of those who had not distinguished between Mamluke and Iranian Qur'ans in the fourteenth century.

It can be seen from the above review that there is almost no detailed information on the period leading up to and including the reign of Sultan Sha^cban. Our purpose in this study has been to try and fill the gap in an historical scholarship so far as these seventy-five years are concerned.

iii) Iraq and Iran in the same period.

The position in Iran and Iraq as far as Qur'an production is concerned in the period prior to 1300 is as follows: There are numerous single-volume copies in the name of Yāqūt bearing dates between 1258 and 1298, the authenticity of which has never been verified. Some are probably in the hand of the master, others are undoubtedly copies; whether forgeries or facsimiles is a question that need not detain us here as the Yāqūt phenomenon is outside of our study, deserving a separate one devoted to it alone.

During the period prior to the conversion of Ghāzān Khān to Islam 1295 no de-luxe copies of the sacred text were produced. Or so it would seem because the earliest surviving large-format multipart Qur'an was not begun until 1302. We are aware of no others prior to that date though there are references in documentary sources which imply that that type of Qur'an may have existed.⁵⁶

We are dealing with a period which is relatively short chronologically. From the appearance of the earliest de-luxe manuscripts in 1302 until the thirteen-sixties. It is nevertheless one of the utmost significance, coinciding with the lives of two of the greatest fourteenth-century patrons of manuscript production Öljaytū Khān and Rashīd al-Dīn his outstanding vizir, and the careers of the sittah, the pupils of Yāqūt.

Between 1307 and 1316 some of the finest Qur'ans ever made were produced for Öljaytū. Rashīd's patronage of manuscript production is too familiar

to need much elaboration here. However it is less well-known that Qur'an manuscripts similar in size and magnificence to those made for Öljaytü were also produced for his chief minister.

These years saw the end of Ilkanid rule in Iraq and Iran (1336) and the rise of minor, though powerful, dynasties like the Jala'irids in Tabriz and Baghdad (1336-1411), the Injuvids (1325-54) and the Muzaffarids (1313-93) at Shiraz.

Manuscript illustration in this period has been intensely studied. Some of the most important Persian paintings of the century - and perhaps ever - were produced for the Jamī' al-Tawārīkh of Rashīd al-Dīn and the Demotte Shah-Nāmah. In total contrast the position of manuscript illumination and calligraphy has barely been looked at, while the study of Qur'ans during the period as recently as 1976 was still in its rudimentary stage. It is symptomatic of the way in which the study of illustration has overshadowed the non-illustrated Ilkhanid manuscripts, that in the 1976 Hayward Gallery exhibition, *The Arts of Islam*, a key manuscript, the Qur'an of 1302-7, could be attributed to Tabriz instead of Baghdad.⁵⁷ It was a natural enough error of attribution, were it not for the fact that several parts of the manuscript state that they were produced in the latter city.

Even at that late stage no comprehensive attempt had been made to track down all the constituent parts of several great multi-volume manuscripts made during the reigns of Ghāzān and Öljaytü. Nevertheless a valiant effort was made by Lings and Safadi to assemble all the major manuscripts of this period for the Qur'an Exhibition in the same year.

We cannot pretend that our attempt has been entirely successful. We have been able to re-assemble large segments of each respective

manuscript but undoubtedly portions and fragments remain to be discovered. Apart from the confusion over the identity of the manuscripts, there is also confusion over calligraphers. Despite the fact that this was considered a 'golden age' of calligraphy even the exact identity of the six famous pupils of Yāqūt is in doubt. No two historians, ancient or modern, gives a definitive list. There were obviously many calligraphers who studied under Yāqūt in his long life but Islamic historians never came to a definitive list of the 'Sittah'. As far as the lives of these men is concerned, most were probably so uneventful, that nothing worth recording occurred during them. This must be one of the reasons for the extreme paucity of information given. Our examination of the sources, both manuscript and printed, reveals no more than a line or two on the lives of the famous pupils of Yāqūt. Even their correct names are sometimes unknown. Modern Iranian writers like Bayani and Faza'ili, whom one would expect to have access to original material unavailable to Western historians, have little - if anything - to add to the information given by Iranian and Turkish historians of earlier centuries. There are other important calligraphers whose names we know only from their works. The writer of the 1307-11 Qur'an made for Öljaytū in Mosul was obviously an important figure; an outstanding master of calligraphy, a descendant of the Caliph ^cAlī, and important enough to be chosen by his monarch to produce a Qur'an. Why should Öljaytū have chosen this man, when in 1307 he must have been able to call upon the services of any of the famous pupils of Yāqūt is a mystery. The same applies to the writer of the 1313 Hamadan Qur'an. We know nothing about these calligraphers: their names are not even recorded elsewhere.

On the odd occasion where we do have a manuscript attributable to a famous calligrapher, like the 1302-7 Qur'an by Ibn al-Suhrawardī, the lack of a certificate of commissioning deprives us of valuable information, which had it been on every juz⁵⁸ would have given the manuscript much greater significance.

The study of manuscript illumination has fared somewhat better than calligraphy and technical production. There have been several attempts to detail the history of manuscript illumination in the fourteenth century. In the nineteen-thirties Ettinghausen⁵⁸ made a preliminary survey based on the manuscripts he could find. In the nineteen-forties Bayani⁵⁹ discussed illumination in the catalogue to the Qur'an exhibition organised by him at the Bastan Museum. Lings and Safadi made interesting comments in the catalogue to the Qur'an Exhibition of 1976. In his book on Qur'anic illumination and calligraphy Lings discussed the theory behind illumination in fourteenth century Qur'ans. Finally in 1979 Ivanov and Akimushkin⁶⁰ produced a general survey of illumination in Iranian manuscripts in the fifteenth century, which included some information on those of the previous one.

The survey of illumination by Ettinghausen although short was the first to actually list the Qur'anic manuscripts of significance. The list was not complete and some of the manuscripts mentioned were not Iranian but Mamluke. Nevertheless Ettinghausen did base his remarks on specific dated manuscripts. He was one of the first people to draw attention to the importance of the Hamadan Qur'an. He pointed out that the geometric style of Ilkhanid manuscripts originated with Seljuks and was prominent in contemporary Anatolian and Azerbayjani architectural decoration and gave general descriptions of the various features of Qur'ans. He

referred to the use of the arabesque in its various forms and the appearance of new features like the knot and the peony. In other areas he was probably too general in his remarks, something which is true of all commentators on illumination in this period. What he had to say about the use of colour was true however, as far as it went.

Bayani's comments were based on remarks made by earlier European writers. Apart from brief descriptions of manuscripts not included in Ettinghausen, he had little to add.

Lings and Safadi comment in general but include one of the few detailed analyses of a frontispiece which embodies Lings ideas about the metaphysics of Qur'an illumination. These were developed at greater length in his 'Qur'anic Art' - actually written before the catalogue. A detailed study of these ideas is beyond the scope of this study which is concerned more with recording the technical details of calligraphy and illumination rather than interpreting the meaning of pattern and design.

The latest attempt by Ivanov and Akimushkin is the most detailed so far. However it deals only partly with Qur'an illumination and suffers from the fact that the authors had only limited access to material outside the Soviet Union. They point out that opening pages of illumination and text were first considered separate and later in the fourteenth century became to be considered a decorative unit with a single frame around both halves; a fact not recorded before. The main point for our survey is that their account insofar as it touches the fourteenth century at all deals mainly with the second half.

Aims and objects of this study.

In this research our aims are as follows. First of all, to examine every single dated Mamluke and Iranian Qur'an from the period 1300-1375. This

has involved the study of almost seventy copies plus many other related manuscripts. Secondly to identify as correctly as we can Iranian, Iraqi, Egyptian and Syrian Qur'ans and to divide the manuscripts up into groups that are stylistically coherent. Thirdly, on the basis of these groups, to present a history of Qur'anic calligraphy and illumination in the years under discussion. Our priority at all times has been to let the manuscripts 'speak' for themselves. They more than anything else are our major source of information. Only limited information is to be obtained from the study of chronicles and biographical dictionaries. We make this statement after having examined all the historians of the period, both Arabic and Persian and perusing the biographical dictionaries and histories of calligraphy. Those sources, however, have been invaluable for identifying a number of patrons and for tracing the histories of several major manuscripts.

On the whole we have disregarded the study of manuscripts by the artificial measure of reigns, though the reigns of Öljaytū 1304-16, and Sha^Cbān 1363-76 do coincide with the appearance of some of the finest Qur'ans ever made. The chronological division of our study, thus bears no relation to historical 'periods' but is based on groups of manuscripts that are stylistically related. In some cases these may coincide with the reign of a monarch or dynasty, but in most cases it does not.

Our object has been to study the development of the Mamluke Qur'an until and including the appearance of the magnificent series of manuscripts produced in Cairo between 1368 and 1376, to understand what led up to this phenomenon and to relate the Cairo Qur'ans to those being produced in Syria, Iraq and Iran. The manuscripts of Sultan Sha^Cbān can only be understood in relation to what was going on elsewhere and in

relation to what had preceded them in Cairo and surrounding areas, especially in the East, whose manuscripts seem to have had a major influence on the Mamluke Qur'an in the Bahri period.

Chapter One : Egypt 1300-1330.

The first group of manuscripts is one of the most interesting of all. It supplies us with more information than any subsequent group and this is vital for understanding the development of Mamluke Qur'an production in the fourteenth century. It covers the years 1304 to 1330. In essence, what we are concerned with are the activities of the master-painter Sandal, his apprentices, colleagues and contemporaries from the time of their involvement in the production of Qur'an for Baybars al-Jāshankīr¹ to the final vestige of their work in 1330.

This group is unique in that some of the manuscripts furnish documentary evidence of the relationship between scribe and illuminator and between master and pupil. It also provides us with a rare opportunity to trace in detail the development of a recognizable style of manuscript illumination.

The manuscripts in question are the following:

1. British Library Ms Add. 22406-13.² A Qur'an in seven parts (asbā^{c3}) dated 704-705/1304-1305/6. Commissioned by the Emir Baybars al-Jāshankīr.
2. Chester Beatty Library Ms 1437,⁴ Prussian State Library Ms 31.559⁵, Boston Museum of Fine Arts Ms 26.11. Fragmentary Qur'an. Circa 1310.
3. Chester Beatty Library Ms 1479.⁶ Complete single volume Qur'an. Circa 1304-15.
4. Chester Beatty Library Ms 1457.⁷ Complete single-volume Qur'an. Circa 1304-15.
5. Ex-Sotheby Ms (9.10.78. Lot 122)⁸ Two leaves bound with a later manuscript. Dated 707/1307-8.

6. TIEM Ms 450⁹, Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Ms 39.793 , Freer Gallery
Ms 42.3. Single-volume Qur'an , dated 713/1313. For Al-Nāsir Muhammad.

7. Ex-Christie Ms (21.7.71 Lot 101)¹⁰. Complete single-volume Qur'an
Circa 1313.

8. Keir Collection Ms VII.9.¹¹ Complete single-volume Qur'an. Dated 730/
1329-30. Commissioned by Al-Nāsir Muhammad.

9. Cairo National Library Ms 4.¹² Complete single-volume Qur'an. Waqfiyyah
of Al-Nāsir Muhammad dated 729/ 1328-9.

10. Ex-Christie Ms (16.12.70 Lot 214)¹³. Complete single-volume Qur'an.
Circa. 1320-30.

11. Cairo National Library Ms 55/¹⁴ Chester Beatty Library uncatalogued
fragment.¹⁵ Single-volume Qur'an. Circa 1320-30.

Also intimately related are the following:

British Library Ms Or 3025.¹⁶ Al-Fawā'id al-Jaliyyah. Dated 712/1312.

Aya Sofia Ms 4823.¹⁷ Al-Fawā'id al-Jaliyyah. Dated 719/1320.

1. The Qur'an of Baybars al-Jāshankīr and related works.

This manuscript stands at the head of the group. It is unquestionably
the most important , being not only the earliest ¹⁸dated Mamluke Qur'an
but also one of the great masterpieces of Islamic calligraphy and
illumination. It has received some attention by scholars , most

recently during the 1976 World of Islam Festival when several parts were shown in two of the exhibitions. However there has never been a serious detailed of the Qur'an and to date the fullest published accounts still remains the original entry in the old British Museum Catalogus Codicum Orientalium supplemented by the comments of Stanley Lane-Poole in his Art of the Saracens of Egypt.

It is copied in asbā^C or sevenths, the least popular of all the divisions of the Qur'an and as far as we are aware, the only Mamluke Qur'an to have been produced in this way. It is in large format, 48 x 32cm, which is somewhat larger than the other manuscripts in this group. At the end of each sub^O (ie seventh) is a colophon by the calligrapher which indicates the circumstances of commissioning. With slight modifications from one to another this reads :

This Noble Sub^C and its brother-volumes were copied at the command of the noble abode, the high, the lord, the emir, Rukn al-Din, ustādār, God make him victorious. Copied (by) Muḥammad bin al-Wahīd, thanking God, exalted be He. (Fig.1)

It has long been accepted that this Rukn al-Dīn was Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Jāshankīr, at this time an official of Al-Nāsir Muḥammad, having been appointed ustādār or major-domo in 1299¹⁹ during the second reign of Al-Nāsir, and later to rule as Al-Muzaffar Baybars, 708-9/1309-10. During the years in which the Qur'an was copied, Baybars is also spoken of as atābak al-jaysh, commander-in-chief. The original attribution to Baybars was made in the old British Museum catalogue quoted above²⁰ and there can be little doubt that this is correct.

The circumstances of commissioning.

The large size of the Qur'an and the fact of its being written in multiple parts indicate that it was not intended for personal use but for endowment to a mosque or religious institution. We can be certain of this despite the rather surprising lack of an endowment certificate in any of the volumes. A fact which could be explained by the volumes having being rebound at some stage.

Baybars was associated with two important religious monuments prior to his death in 1310. In 1303²¹ he restored the minarets of the Mosque of Al-Hākim after the earthquake of the previous year and it is certainly possible that the manuscript was intended to grace this newly-restored building. As we shall see it appears to have spent some time there in later years. However it is far more likely that the Qur'an was destined for the new khānqāh²² which Baybars began to build in the Darb al-Asfar. Lane-Poole²³ was the first to suggest this, though without offering any evidence to prove it.

Proof is supplied by Ibn Iyās (Bada'i²⁴) in a rare and, for a manuscript, unusually full account, which we reproduce below in its entirety:

The Year 705/1305-6. In that year the atābak Baybars al-Jāshankīr began to build his khānqāh which is in the square of Bāb al-Id opposite the Darb al-Asfar. It is said that when the building was completed, Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn bin al-Wahīd wrote a copy of the Qur'an in seven parts for the atābak Baybars. It was written on paper of Baghdadi²⁵ size, in ash'ar script. It is said that Baybars spent 1600 dinars on these volumes so that they could be written in gold. It was placed in the khānqāh and is one of the beauties of the age.

(Appendix 1,i)

There is no doubt that this is an account of the British Library manuscript, all details of which tally. This is not the only account of the manuscript : both Safadi and Ibn Hajar refer to it and these latter seem to contradict Ibn Iyās. Both say that the Qur'an was in their day in the mosque of Al-Hākim and Safadi mentions seeing it there²⁶, while Ibn Hajar says²⁷ :

Baybars then endowed it to his library in the mosque of Al-Hākim
(Appendix 1,ii)

The khānqāh was commenced upon in 705 (Ibn Iyās) or 706 (Maqrīzī)²⁸ and completed in 709. The text of the Qur'an was copied out by 705 and probably completed by the illuminators in the following year. Thus the manuscript must have been around for several years before the building was in a fit state to receive it. It could have remained with the craftsmen who produced it or it could have been stored somewhere by the recipient donor Baybars. It would have been perfectly natural for the manuscript to have gone to the mosque of Al-Hākim²⁹ in the intervening period, where no waqfiyyah would have been attached. It may then have remained in the mosque and the endowment to the khānqāh never having been undertaken, became the property of the former. Alternatively it could have been placed in the khānqāh as Ibn Iyās says, and then returned to the mosque of Al-Hākim in 709/1310 when after the execution of Baybars, Al-Nāsir ordered the closure of the khānqāh and the confiscation of its endowments.³⁰ It seems unlikely that the Qur'an, being one of the 'beauties of the age' would have remained in the khānqāh until Al-Nāsir re-opened it in 726. This at any rate is our contention. It seems far more likely - despite the apparent

contradictions in the chroniclers- that Baybars intended the Qur'an for his own foundation , rather than the library of the mosque of Al-Hākim where it ultimately came to rest.

1. The work of the calligrapher and artists.

a) Muhammad bin al-Wahīd and the calligraphy: Sharaf al-Dīn Muhammad bin Sharif bin Yūsuf al-Kātib al-Zarqī al-Misrī , called for a reason never explained 'Ibn al-Wahīd' was one of the outstanding calligraphers of the first part of the fourteenth century and seems to have been a rather colourful character. He is one of the few Arab calligraphers whose biography we know in detail. Both Safadi³¹ and Ibn Hajar³² give full accounts of him and on those the basis of those and other scraps that are recorded³³ we are able to reconstruct the broad outlines of his career.

He was born in Damascus in 647/1249-50. He travelled to Baalbek and then to Baghdad where he studied under Yāqūt and others. He came to Cairo where he was kātib al-sharī'ah in the mosque of Al-Hākim. It was probably there that Baybars came to know him while the reconstruction was progressing in 1303. He then entered the service of Baybars and copied out for him the Qur'an which was illuminated by the master-illuminator Sandaland was considered one of the most wonderful works of art seen in Cairo. Apart from his skill with the pen he was also a good linguist and this should have stood him in good stead in the chancellery of Baybars. However he did not do well. He was lazy and negligent and this resulted in his being severely reprimanded by the secretary of the chancellery Sharaf al-Dīn bin Fadlallāh.³⁴

His moral character was strongly suspect. He is said to have poured wine into the inkwell and written a copy of the Qur'an with it. Such was his skill as a calligrapher that a Qur'an by him without illumination or binding would sell for 1000 dinars. He would buy copies produced by his pupils in imitation of his hand for 400 dinars and re-sell them for 1000.³⁵ When Baybars gave him the 1,600 dinars to produce the Qur'an for his khānqāh, he kept most of it and used only 400 dinars. Fortunately he seems to have got on well with the emir, who greatly admired his calligraphy, and when Baybars was told of the embezzlement he merely said, 'When will there be anyone else who could write a Qur'an like that?'. Among those who spoke ill of him was his own brother °Alā'al-Dīn who taught in Cairo.

He was familiar with all of the styles of calligraphy and no one wrote naskh, rayhān and muhaqqaq better than he. He composed poetry - including some in praise of hashish³⁶ - and wrote a commentary on the famous Rā'iat bin al-Bawwāb³⁷, the versified treatise by the great Baghdadi master on calligraphy. He is described by his biographers as, well-informed, elegant and courageous, a good linguist and an outstanding calligrapher. He died in 711/1311 in Cairo at the age of sixty-one. (Appendix 1, ii and iii)

Such then was the life of this calligrapher, whose only surviving work is the Qur'an of Baybars.

The manuscript was copied out by Ibn al-Wahīd over a period lasting a year or more. Sub^c 2 is dated Jumada II 704 / December 1304 while Sub^c 7 is dated merely 705 / sometime in 1305 or 6. As the parts are of equal length it means that the calligrapher was able to copy out five of the seven in under a year, each one probably taking around

eight weeks , meaning that the Qur'an was probably begun in August or September of 1304. Apart from the fact that the Qur'an is written in the form of asbā^C and is apparently the only Mamluke manuscript to have been so done it is also copied out such a way that on each page there are six lines of text. This is a most unusual feature since almost every other Mamluke, Qur'an - and indeed all Qur'ans except the earlier Kufic ones - are copied in odd numbers of lines: seven, nine , eleven and thirteen being the numbers favoured by Mamluke calligraphers.

But most curious of all is the actual script used by Ibn al-Wahīd. It is a large gold thulth-type , outlined in black. In Ibn Iyās's 1.1 description of the Qur'an the script is called ash^Cār and in that of Safadī thulth-ash^Cār which seems more correct. Ash^Cār as such is sometimes considered a specific type of script mid-way between thulth and muhaggaq³⁸ - so it is described by some historians of calligraphy. But the correct explanation would seem to be related to the hair-line strokes around the script since ash^Cār, tash^Cīr in normal Arabic and Persian usage would appear to be derived from ash^Cār³⁹⁴⁰, plural of sha^Crah : a hair. There is no mystery however about the source of Ibn al-Wahīd's choice. The script he employed was that normally used in Cairo at this time for writing Qur'an surah-headings.

Why did the calligrapher choose to employ this unusual script which was never again used for a Qur'an ? One would perhaps have expected him to use muhaggaq , as did the calligraphers of the time of Sultan Sha^Cbān. However, although this was the commonest script employed in the production of royal Qur'ans in Baghdad and Mosul it was not so under the Mamlukes. The earliest Mamluke Qur'an in a clearly recognizable muhaggaq is dated 1320 and even this is

avery far cry from the superb muhaqqaq-jalī of the 1360's and 70's. Furthermore, one must ask whether large-format multipart Qur'ans like the Ilkhanid royal Qur'ans were really a feature in Egypt at this time ? The answer seems to be - despite the comments of Atil in the catalogue of the Washington Mamluke exhibition of 1981⁴¹- that they were not. At least we cannot point to any in the twenty years following the production of the Baybars Qur'an , and nothing survives from prior to it. Thus , if there were no tradition of this type of Qur'an under the Mamlukes would there have been a traditional script that would have been automatically used ? The answer we are persuaded from examining the surviving manuscripts is that there was not. Most Qur'ans that we know from this period are in naskh or a thulth-type but not muhaqqaq or rayhān. As far as the latter is concerned , it is quite apparent that it was a script the Mamlukes found unattractive. Despite the existence of the fine Qur'an sent to Cairo in the 1320's and copied for the Ilkhanid sultan Öljaytū in 1313 , there is hardly a single example of a Mamluke Qur'an in rayhān . It seems clear that just there were certain fashions in other areas of Mamluke life - as there were , and are , in all societies, there were fashions to in calligraphy and at this time the graceful rayhān and the wonderful classical muhaqqaq of the Qur'an copied in Mosul for Öljaytū in the first decade of the century were simply not 'en vogue' in Cairo.

We can perhaps see more evidence of this by looking at the second manuscript on our initial list. This manuscript , divided between the Prussian State Library and the Chester Beatty Library appears to be in another strange hand, perhaps that of the chancellery , tūmār.

It appears also to have been multi-part and to follow an unusual three-line division of the text on each page. Each surah is introduced

by the script employed for the text of the Baybars Qur'an. Surviving decoration consists only of marginal ornaments , but these are identical to those in the Baybars Qur'an. These factors suggest to us that this is yet another manuscript produced by the team of the Baybars Qur'an and should probably be considered as the only other example of a Qur'an in the hand of Ibn al-Wahīd , perhaps executed sometime between 1306 and his death in the Mansūrī maristan in 1311. Thus it is probable that the commission given to Ibn al-Wahīd by Baybars was an unfamiliar one.

The script of the Baybars Qur'an seems to have been drawn first and then painted in gold and possibly re-outlined. The diacriticals , now black , were presumably silver. Vowels are in translucent red-gold. The remaining orthographic signs differ in the manuscript. In Sub^C 1 the cutting-hamza , shaddah and sukūn are painted blue while the sign over letters without diacritical points is red. In other parts the latter is also blue. In Sub^C 4 all signs are in gold except shaddah and hamza which are blue. Throughout the manuscript the surah-headings are in red gold and the 'eyes' of all letters are filled in with black.

b) The illuminators : Muhammad bin Mubādir ; Abū Bakr called 'Sandal'; Aydughdi bin ^CAbdallāh al-Badrī. Given our remarks in the previous section there seems at least the possibility that the artists who worked on this Qur'an for Baybars were engaged in a relatively unfamiliar project and had been specially assembled by Ibn al-Wahīd for the occasion. At any rate there are quite wide divergences in their styles of painting.

Each volume is illuminated in a similar manner , indicating an

overall plan laid down by someone. This was almost certainly Sandal who in all the accounts of the Qur'an is the only painter spoken of. This strongly suggests that he was a well-known illuminator and almost certainly the director of the painting side of the project.

Each volume begins with a double illuminated frontispiece with the word 'al-sub^c' written in the centre of the right hand page and the number on the opposite one. In Parts 1, 2 and 4 Qur'anic āyāt are incorporated as well in panels at the tops and bottoms of the pages. In each volume the opening parts of the text are written over a patterned ground with panels of illumination above and below. The last page of each volume is laid out in a manner similar to the opening pages of text. Each āyah is marked with a rosette and the passage of every fifth and tenth one indicated in the margin by a decorated numeral. Within these broad outlines are many differences, enough to make each volume be considered a separate work in its own right. In our survey of the illumination we will be concentrating on the study of the frontispieces which were always regarded by artists as their 'piece de resistance'. 1.2-3

The manuscript bears the signatures of three artists. The first volume carries the name of Muhammad bin Mubādir; the third and fifth bear the name of Sandal, while the final one has the name of Aydughdī bin ^cAbdallāh. The latter inscription has caused some confusion since it appears to claim that Aydughdī illuminated all seven parts. This inscription will be dealt with when we come to discuss the work of Aydughdī. At this point let us merely point to the self-evident facts that three of the parts are signed by other painters and that their individual styles are so distinct that even the seventh part bearing Aydughdī's inscription can be seen to be the work of Sandal. Our interpretation of the inscription in the seventh part is that

Aydughdī did not illuminate the volumes in the accepted sense of tadhhīb⁴², which is the expression used by artists to mean illuminating but performed some secondary task on each. In this context we should note that the word he employs in the inscription is the much less usual tazmīk. In any event his contribution is undetectable, implying that he painted in or outlined work done by others. It is our contention therefore that we are dealing with a team of three artists: a senior painter who directed the project and who was Sandal. We may note the comment of Safadī⁴³ in this context when describing the production of the Qur'an for Baybars:

then the famous Sandal illuminated it and painted it (Appendix 1, iv)

The other members of the team were an established painter, Muhammad bin Mubādir and a man of lesser rank, Aydughdī bin Abdallāh who was as we shall show, the pupil or apprentice of Sandal.

Muhammad bin Mubādir and his work in the Qur'an and elsewhere.

Muhammad bin Mubādir was responsible for the illumination in the first volume. This we know without doubt from his inscription on the final folio where in three medallions in the right-hand margin we read:

Illuminated by Muhammad bin Mubādir, May God pardon him (Fig. 2)

He is also responsible, we shall demonstrate on grounds of style, for the illumination of volumes 2, 4 and 6. Let us at the outset point out a problem with the illumination of these parts. The frontispieces of volumes 4 and 6 are identical. That of volume 2 is quite different and a very unusual, composite design which can be shown to be the work of the artist of parts 4 and 6. The design of volume

1 is probably the least interesting , though there is no other example in Mamluke illumination. There are some slight differences between this volume and the other three. These differences are not enough for us to believe that the illumination of 2 ,4 and 6 are by someone else. The absence of a signiature is not important on this occasion. After all the final volume is the work of Sandal despite the fact that it is not signed by him. We have several manuscripts illuminated by Aydgħdī and his style can be seen to be quite different and related to that of Sandal. Thus although we can not entirely discount the possibility of a fourth unknown artist , this seems to us unlikely, given the evidence in each of the four volumes.

Each half of the opening frontispiece to Sub^c 1 consists of a 1.4
central square bearing the volume number; rectangular panels above
and below with Qur'anic inscriptions in white kufic (LVI Al-Wāqī^cah
77-80) all surrounded by a plain gold border. Around the composition
on each side , is a border of blank , ie. unmodelled, palmettes , 1.5
greatly reduced in size on the inner margin and decorated with 'tear-
drops' which have been modelled in various colours , mainly blue
with white high-lights. The design of the central panel is curious.
It is simple, traditional and yet the only known example. It is
derived from the traditional tile pattern of an eight-pointed star
surrounded by cross-pieces. The cross-pieces are cut down to make
an 'L-shaped' segment in each corner. Our researches have revealed
only two other examples of the star-and-cross pattern , though in
each case used not as a detail but as a piece of repeat block-pattern.
It occurs in an earlier Coptic Bible in the British Library , dated

1289 (Ms Or 1327)⁴⁴ and in a single juz' of a Qur'an copied for the Ilkhanid vizir Rashīd al-Dīn in 1316 and now in Topkapi (Ms EH 248).⁴⁵ There are a number of points worthy of comment. The central design is not a true piece of 'infinite' pattern ; to qualify as such the arms of the cross shapes would have to be complete. Secondly the L-shaped pieces bear palmette decoration which appear to 'contain' the central star shape rather than allow it to 'expand'. Finally the 'balance' of the two halves is thrown 'off-key' by the deliberate alteration of one of the palmette motifs on the left-hand side to 1.6 break the symmetry. These are features which re-occur in Mamluke Qur'an illumination from time to time. All inscriptions on the frontispieces are written over gold scrolls decorated with 'tear-drops'. These scrolls apart from the ones in the top left-hand panel are blank. The inscriptions themselves are entirely traditional and are used on frontispieces and bindings throughout the Islamic World continuously.

The frontispiece is one of the simplest in the entire manuscript. The same sense of simplicity and rapidity appears in the opening 1.7 pages of text and in the final illuminated colophon page. In each 1.8 case the texts are written over a ground of interlace-triangles with red, gold and blue dots at the corners. Above and below are narrow panels with gold palmettes with details articulated in black or red and with red centres on blue. All panels are surrounded by gold strapwork which is of a different type on the first and last folios. In the margins are gold medallions and in the centre a lobed hasp with palmette decoration or an arabesque scroll. Marginal ornaments in the main body of the text consist of the words 'khamsa' and 'ashara'^C in gold kufic over a piece of arabesque scroll. The former is surrounded

by polychrome petals : the latter always has a cone-shaped extension in red and gold to simulate the Arabic numeral five.

The over-riding impression is that this volume was illuminated competently though rapidly. Presumably the explanation is that the painter, having four rather than three volumes to complete wished to finish the first one as quickly as possible. The allocation of volumes must have been decided as soon as the calligrapher began his work. This we believe was as follows:

- Volume 1 : Muhammad bin Mubādir (signed) / Aūdughdī bin °Abdallāh
- Volume 2 : ditto / Aūdughdī bin °Abdallāh / perhaps an unknown painter
- Volume 3 : Sandal (signed) / Aūdughdī bin °Abdallāh
- Volume 4 : Muhammad bin Mubādir / Aūdughdī / perhaps an unknown painter
- Volume 5 : Sandal (signed) / Aūdughdī bin °Abdallāh
- Volume 6 : Muhammad bin Mubādir / Aūdughdī / perhaps an unknown painter
- Volume 7 : Sandal / Aūdughdī bin °Abdallāh (signed)

It is probably best to begin our examination of the volumes, 2, 4 and 6 by considering the last two first. Both the frontispieces of these follow broadly the same principles. In to a large rectangular block of pattern a hexagon bearing the volume number is 'inlaid'. The hexagons look somewhat incongruous and artificial, though it is possible to 1.9 see a whole series of 'hidden' hexagons in the compositions, those in the centre being the only 'visible' ones. The bases of each pattern are repeating six-pointed stars which are connected up to, and made of, white lines that are the segments of circles. These central areas are unusual in a number of ways. They are unique, being employed by this artist alone. There are also elements which break the symmetry, just/ as in

in the frontispiece of Volume 1. Beyond the wide bands of strapwork which in the case of Volume 4 include the earliest Mamluke example 1.10 of a technique that did not become popular for several decades - the introduction of coloured squares - is the outer border of alternating palmettes. These are in gold, unarticulated, with unmodelled 'tear-drops'. What is of great interest is that these borders extend around all sides of the two separate halves of the frontispiece. Normally in Mamluke Qur'ans the inner margin was left blank. As we shall see, this technique is entirely typical of contemporary Ilkhanid work. The same could be said for the hexagons and octagons so favoured by Muḥammad bin Mubādir. It can be clearly demonstrated that much of the repertoire of this artist derives from Baghdadi work, and that in fact we must revise our thoughts on the date from which Ilkhanid influence becomes apparent in Mamluke illumination: somewhat earlier than the 1326 endowment of the Öljaytū Qur'an to the mausoleum of Baktimur al-Sāqī.

The design used at the beginning of the second volume is a curious combination of those used in volumes 1, 4 and 6. It is almost as if the artist had set out to combine the salient features of all into one. The layout of the frontispiece consists of a central square panel 1.11 with rectangular ones bearing inscriptions above and below. Around these are palmette borders with strapwork squares at the corners. The central panel is composed of another star-and-cross pattern which has been 'exploded' in a most original fashion. Into this are set, first a large octagon which on each half bears the volume number, and then four smaller ones which surround the main one. The eight small octagons bear a tiny linked hexagon pattern which is used in the decoration of volume 6.

All inscriptions are laid over fine gold arabesque scrolls with

a 'tear-drop' motif similar to those used in the decoration of the frontispiece of volume 1, however the details are articulated in black. The kufic inscriptions in the panels above and below consist of V Al-Mā'idah 100-1, which appear only rarely in decorative usage. They appear rather different to those of the frontispiece, to the first volume, the vertical strokes being much thinner and reaching almost to the top of the panel. However, as with all inscription areas in the first volume these are decorated with a tiny white treble-dot motif.

Decoration of the opening pages of text in all of the four volumes under examination is similar, consisting of tight geometric patterns, often reminiscent of those found on metalwork. Frequently the same decoration is used for the colophon pages. This decoration is entirely different from that found in the volumes illuminated by Sandal.

Volume 1. Opening pages: strapwork triangles with dots at the corners.⁴⁸

Closing page : ditto 1.8

Volume 2. Opening pages: swastika and eight-pointed star pattern. 1.12

Closing page: inverted interlinked 'Y' shapes. 1.13

Volumes 4. Opening pages : inverted interlinked 'Y' shapes.

Closing page : linked diamond pattern with treble-dot motif. 1.14

Volume 6. Opening pages : linked hexagons. 1.15

Closing page : ditto

Other work by Muhammad bin Mubādir

We are fortunate in possessing another manuscript illuminated by Muhammad bin Mubādir, Ms 1457 in the Chester Beatty Library. This is a copy of a Qur'an which although it bears no signature by the illuminator is in exactly the same style as the four volumes of the

the Baybars Qur'an. The manuscript is in fine condition , some 3.1
252 pages of beautiful naskh in a most distinctive cursive style,
fifteen lines to the page. Unfortunately the manuscript has suffered
some mutilation. The right-hand half of the double frontispiece
is missing and the colophon after Sūrat al-Nās has been painted
over - though can still be read with difficulty - and the surah
heading of Al-Nās has been cut out and replaced with that of Al-
Kahf. The effect of this is to remove a section from the centre of
the original finispiece , which we suggest contained the name of
the illuminator and which , along with that of the scribe , some-
one wanted to erase.

By holding the page up to a strong light it is possible to read
the name of the scribe : Muḥammad bin ^CAbdallāh bin Aḥmad al-Anṣārī
al-Khazraǧī. The same scribe copied out a Qur'an in 707/ 1307-8 a tiny
fragment of which has survived by being bound with a later Persian
Qur'an. These pages consist of the double finispiece which happily
bear on the final verso side the colophon of the calligrapher. Also
surviving is Sūrat al-Nās which gives another example of the magni-
ficent calligraphy of al-Khazraǧī. The illumination in this manuscript
appears to be related to the work of Ibn Muḥādir's colleague Sandal.

There are four areas of illumination : the opening frontispiece;
the opening pages of text; two finispieces. The first of the two 3.2
finispieces uses a design identical to that used by Muḥammad bin
Muḥādir for the frontispiece of volume 6 in the Baybars Qur'an , though
the colour scheme is different. The second finispiece is composed of
an eight-lobed medallion 'inlaid' into a bed of interlinked 'Y'-shapes. 3.3
These are identical to those appearing in the fourth volume of the 1.13
Baybars Qur'an. The corners however are cut across in the manner that

we see in some Ilkhanid Qur'ans.

The opening page of illumination is made up of a central panel 3.4 with four rectangular panels on each side. Those at the top and bottom bear Qur'anic āyāt in white kufic (XLV Jāthiyyah ,3; XCVIII Bayinah ,1). Those at the sides contain trees of gold palmettes. In the central panel is a perfect piece of infinite pattern made up of twelve-armed star-polygons whose outer limbs join to form squares between the polygons. In the centre of each square is the familiar octagon of which Ibn Mubādir is so fond. Apart from these we can find numerous examples of details identical to those in the four Baybars volumes illuminated by Muhammad bin Mubādir , showing without doubt that the artist of the Chester Beatty Qur'an must be he.

An appraisal of Muhammad bin Mubādir's style.

Muhammad bin Mubādir was possessed of an accomplished, mature, precise if rather rigid and sterile manner of painting. His work has some very unusual -perhaps unique- features involving the combination of apparently disparate elements to make what appear to be new compositions. Our knowledge of his style is limited to the Baybars Qur'an and the Chester Beatty single-volume copy. Nevertheless this is quite sufficient for us to form a full appraisal of his work. He certainly seems to have had a wide repertoire of compositional structures and details, as well as being considerably inventive on his own part. His work is entirely different from that of his colleague Sandal. One wonders where he was trained. Cairo can not have been so rich in first-class illuminators that one would expect to see such a wide divergence in the work of two men who were obviously the leading practitioners of manuscript illumination in the Mamluke capital. We have little idea of what painting was like in Cairo prior to the completion of the

Qur'an for the emir Baybars. Some clues are given in christian Bibles ,one of which we have refered to. The opening pages of the four gospels in this manuscript (British Library Ms Or 1327) are illuminated in a purely non-representational fashion after the pattern of Islamic manuscripts. There are certain parallels between this work and that of Ibn Mubādir as we have seen. However, when we come to look at the Qur'ans produced in Baghdad and Mosul we find very definite similarities and we shall be examining some of these in the next chapter. Whatever the origins of Ibn Mubādir's style , it does not seem to have endured in Egypt. There is no dated example later than 1306 and we cannot detect any sign of it in other documented manuscripts between then and 1330. The chances are that Ibn Mubādir was brought in specially to work on what was a major and unusual commission, probably at the invitation of Ibn al-Wahīd who was overseer of the project. The demise of Baybars in 1310 , followed by the death of Ibn al-Wahīd in the following year probably meant that the team of illuminators broke up ; indeed had probably disbanded upon the completion of the seven-part Qur'an. Nothing comparable to this manuscript was attempted in Cairo until the time of Sultan Sha^obān bin Husayn. Our conclusion must be that Ibn Mubādir went to work somewhere else.

Abū Bakr , called 'Sandal' and his work in the Qur'an and elsewhere.

Sandal appears to have been the master-illuminator of the Qur'an , even though the number of parts he worked on was less than Ibn Mubādir. That Sandal occupied a senior position is testified to not simply from references to him in the Wafayāt of Safadī⁴⁷ but in additional evidence that we shall examine when we come to discuss the role of Aydughdī. It is quite possible that Sandal was a eunuch since names like 'Sandal'

(Sandalwood) and 'Kāfūr' (Camphor) were often associated with slaves.⁴⁸ There is also the fact that Abū Bakr is not given a full name : that is , his father's name is not mentioned: which is what we would expect in the case of a slave.

Sandal's signiature is found on volumes three and five. In the former it occurs in the marginal medallions of the colophon page, just we find with Muhammad bin Mubādir in volume one. On the final page of the third volume we read the following :

Illumination by Sandal (Fig 2`b)

In the fifth volume the signiature is concealed among the illumination on the opening double frontis-piece. Where the decoration protrudes into the centre of the outer margin at each side we read :

Illumination of Abū Bakr known as 'Sandal' (Fig 2 c)

The final seventh volume is not signed by Sandal but is illuminated in exactly the same manner as the other two. Contrary to what is often supposed illumination is as highly personalised as representational painting. It is only the lack of identifiable examples over a period of time that makes us think illuminators as anonymous and self-effacing. The work of Sandal and its contrast with that of his colleague Muhammad bin Mubādir provides an excellent example of the individuality of illuminators.

The frontispieces produced by Sandal all take the same form : a central polygon which repeats in the four corners of either a square or rectangular panel , with or without accompanying inscriptions. The overall design of these panels forms a geometric 'trellis' the interstices of which are occupied by highly individual 'fillers'. In each trellis there are two basic types of filler. These fillers take the form of a curious palmette-shape in a form that resembles the human pelvis and gives them

a strange 'anatomical' quality. Both these 'pelvic palmettes' and the arabesque scroll motifs that are also used , and indeed all parts of Sandal's decorative repertoire are covered with tinny bumps , lumps and knobbls. Close inspection reveals these to be nascent , uncurled 1.18 leaves and buds. They give his work a vibrant plastic quality and while they may not be his own invention , since we see them in the British Library Bible of 1289 , they are certainly developed by Sandal and are one of the main components of his style. Sandal was particularly fond of setting all of his motifs on grounds of minute red or black cross-hatchings and this too is quite characteristic of his work. Fillers however, may be set on a ground of sold colour , red, green or blue.

The central star-polygon always bears the volume number over a very free composition of arabesque scrolls , which like many other of his motifs are decorated with a 'tear-drop' motif.

Where ever a rectangular panel occurs above and below the central one it bears Qur'anic āyat in rather squat white kufic , shorter and thicker than appears in the other volumes. The inscriptions are as follows:

Volume 3 : IV Al-Nisā' 113 , XXVI Al-Shu^oarā' 192-6.

Volume 5 : XIV Ibrāhīm ,52.

Outer borders differ somewhat from one frontispiece to another but all are in gold and consist of elaborate bands of alternating palmettes heavily embellished bumps and protrubrances , always over a minutely 1.19 hatched ground.

On the opening folios of text the initial āyat are written over a 1.18 bed of Sandal's distictive scrolls which are always left white. Here however the buds have begun to sprount and produce leaves and blossoms. Above and below the text panel are narrow bands bearing arabesque scrolls, at the ends of which are cārcular medallions. Between these is a hasp 1.20

which in the case of the fifth and seventh volumes is single-lobed. All have semi-circles cutting into their bases to make an 'axe-head' shape.

Unlike the volumes illuminated by Ibn Mubādir, the colophon pages in those illuminated by Sandal are not simply repeats of the opening folio. In the centre of each right-hand margin is a large decorated hasp with a single lobe and semi-circles at the base. In the third volume this contains the artists signature ; in the seventh it contains part of a palmette while in the fifth volume it contains a most unusual heavily modelled palmette. Somewhat similar ones appear on the opening pages of volume three and are also found in another single-volume Qur'an illuminated by Sandal. Nothing quite like them is found in contemporary Mamluke work , though related devices do occur in Ilkhanid manuscripts. 1.21

Khamsa and ^Cashara signs in the margins throughout the volume illuminated by Sandal are quite standardised. Both are written in gold kufic over a spray of foliage : the former on a blue ground , the other on red. Khamsa always has a cone-shaped point at the top in gold , ^Cashara has a blue circular border. 1.23

Other work by Sandal

In the Chester Beatty Library is another Qur'an illuminated by Sandal. It is a single volume Qur'an in a fine naskh hand , thirteen lines to the page. It has an illuminated frontispiece and opening and closing pages. It probably had an illuminated finispiece in its original state but the pages immediately following Sūrat al-Nās are missing. We do not know the name of the patron , nor the date or name of the scribe , but at the bottom of the opening pages of text we find the following inscription in gold letters :

Illuminated by Abū Bakr known as 'Sandal' (Fig 2d)

Even without this there could be little doubt that the manuscript (Ms 1479) is the work of Sandal. The style of illumination is identical to that used in the Baybars Qur'an. The design of the opening double frontispiece is the same as that in volume seven of the latter 1.22 manuscript, though the trellis lacks the heavy dividing lines. The geometric shapes which make up the interstices are each self-contained, but fit into one another, rather like the pieces of a jig-saw puzzle. The same method is used in frontispiece by Sandal in the third volume of the Baybars Qur'an. The fillers of the interstices consist of the same unusual 'pelvic palmettes' also found in that volume. The outer border of alternating palmettes is also similar, though not identical to those found in the Sandal volumes in the Baybars Qur'an. In the centre of the trellis we find the star-polygon bearing verse 42 from XLI, Fussilat. This verse is rarely used by other Qur'an illuminators but appears to have been popular, for some reason with Sandal and his associates: two other Qur'ans that can be directly associated with Sandal use it on their frontis or finispieces. The verses are in a white thulth-type script over scrolls decorated with coloured 'tear-drops'.

Perhaps most interesting of all is the design of the trellis. The identical design occurs first in third volume of the Baybars Qur'an. We next find it a Qur'an in the Keir Collection that we can associate with Sandal (Ms VII,9), dated 1330, and then in several other Qur'ans down to the 1370's.

The opening pages of text in the Qur'an are written over arabesque scrolls typical of Sandal on a ground of fine red hatchings. Here, as in the British Library Qur'an the hatchings do not reach the edge of the panel but are separated by a white line. In the case of Ibn Mubādir's pages the geometric decoration on the text pages go right up to the

edge of the central area.

Above and below are panels bearing inscriptions in the same squat kufic that appears in the Sandal volumes of the Baybars Qur'an. The inscriptions give the titles and verse counts of the opening surahs. The words are treated in a proportional way, the principles of which are not entirely clear. One of the words in the top right-hand panel could not be fitted in and is written in gold naskh below while the final line seems to have been abbreviated. Exactly the same feature occurs in the work of Aydughdī.

The final page of text bearing Sūrat al-Nās is illuminated in a manner similar to the opening ones, except for the use of a band of gold strapwork instead of a plain one. Surrounding the text are four curious composite blossom motifs rather like those we have come across in some of the volumes illuminated by Sandal for Baybars. They are heavily modelled and have a definite organic appearance. 4.3

Within the text of the Qur'an khamsa and ashara signs are identical to those described in the third, fifth and seventh volumes of the British Library manuscript.

A second manuscript in which we can detect the hand of Sandal is the Qur'an divided between the Chester Beatty Library and the Kunstbibliothek der Stiftung preussischer Kulturbesitz, to which we have already referred.⁴⁹ Unfortunately, in its present state the only decoration left is that of the marginal ornaments. Those which occur in Chester Beatty Ms 1437 c, correspond exactly to those in the known work of Sandal. This manuscript we would suggest is also the work of Ibn al-Wahīd and Sandal and was produced for an unknown patron sometime between the completion of the Baybars Qur'an and the calligrapher's death in 1311.⁵⁰ 2.2

We have already described at some length the style of Sandal and there is little more that we can add. One point worthy of mention however is that there much less divergence in his work from one piece to another, unlike Ibn Mubadir who seems to have had a far wider repertoire.

Aydughdī bin ⁵¹ʿAbdallāh al-Badrī and his work in the Qur'an and elsewhere.

We have already had occasion to mention the contribution of Aydughdī to the Baybars Qur'an.⁵² We may now examine this in some detail and look at several other manuscripts signed by him. We have more information about Aydughdī than any of the artists in the team and can trace his work and associates through four manuscripts from 1304 down to 1320.

Our first reference to this artist occurs in the final volume of 1.23 the British Library Qur'an where, on the opening pages of text, we 1.24 find the following inscription written in panels above and below the central panels :

This noble seventh and its brother volumes were illuminated by the poor slave, needy of God's help, yearning for His pardon and mercy Aydughdī bin ⁵³ʿAbdallāh al-Badrī, may God forgive him, in the year 705 (Fig 2 e)

Our survey of the Qur'an has shown beyond doubt that the expression used by Aydughdī in this inscription, ie. zammaka, cannot mean illumination in the true and full sense of the word, but must indicate something else: something that was performed in each of the seven volumes, yet which is undetectable, since the styles of the other artists are most distinctive and readily recognisable.

In the original entry for this manuscript in the old catalogue of the British Museum, the author simply records the inscription without comment. Lane-Poole, who is the only scholar to have commented on the words clearly understood what was in question. He writes:⁵³

...the seventh part has the further information that this volume "was incrustrated (**زتك**) by Aydaghdly ibn 'Abd-Allah el-Bedry", which raises the difficulty as to what "incrustation" was. The word is frequently used to designate the laying on of both gold and ink on a manuscript; but the previous use of the words **ذهب** and **كتب** seem to suggest some different operation in the case of Aydughdy. Dr Rieu⁵⁴ seems to think that it may refer to the delicate outlining of the characters, but this would more probably be termed **كتابة**. Perhaps **زتك** meant the laying on of the colours, as distinguished from the **تذهيب** or gilding.

In the catalogue to the Qur'an Exhibition⁵⁵ and that of the Hayward Gallery exhibition⁵⁶ (1976) it appears to be tacitly assumed that Aydughdī worked in exactly the same manner as Muhammad bin Mubādir.

In medieval Islamic manuscripts the normal expression for decorating is tadhhīb or dahhaba which meant literally 'gilding' and dates from the time when only gold was used. Other more unusual terms are occasionally employed. In a Qur'an in the Chester Beatty Library (Ms 1439)⁵⁷ we find the word adhana from the root d h n meaning 'to annoint, oil'. In a manuscript in the TIEM we find the expression idmān (perhaps idhān)⁵⁸ (Ms 450). Both of these are unusual, though they may have been common enough in the parlance of medieval painters.

In Safadī's account of the work of Sandal on the Baybars Qur'an⁵⁹ the author uses the terms dahhaba and zammaka together, one after the other, suggesting that the two describe different tasks and that

the first mentioned took place before the second.

The fullest investigation of the word 'zammaka' seems to be that in Quatremère's 'Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks' ⁶⁰ where he quotes from a work on Ilkhanid chancellery procedure explaining how letters were to be set out :

Après la formule Au nom de Dieu et une ligne de la khotbah , on commençait par la toghra , qui était tracée en or incrusté ذهب مزتك et qui contenait , comme tous les toghras , les titres de notre sultan.

And in a footnote on zammaka , he continues :

Le verbe **زتك** signifie imprégner , incruster. On lit dans l'ouvrage dont je donne ici l'extrait **مكتوبة بالذهب بالقلم المحقق يترك بالسواد** - écrit en or avec un kalam bien taillé et imprégné de noir. Plus bas Dans le Fākihat al-Khulafā' **زتك بالذهب** - elle fut encrustée d'or. Dans le Manhal al-Sāfī **وما اعتد تكتب مثلها ولا مثل تزيكها** - je ne crois que personne puisse tracer une pareille écriture, ni imiter son incrustation.

It is difficult to see any other interpretation of the verb zammaka than meaning 'to paint' in some manner. As far as we can tell there are only two functions that Aydughdī could have performed on all seven volumes without his contribution being immediately obvious. It could have been the outlining of the letters as Rieu suggested , or it could have been the painting in of the gold or the colours. We are inclined to reject the former for the following reasons. It seems unlikely , even for a rather slothful calligrapher such as Ibn al-Wahīd appears to have been, that so important a part of the work could have been handed over to some one else. The lines around the letters are there to delineate the characters and for such a commission the calligrapher would surely have wanted to do this himself. Secondly

in Safadī's account⁶¹ of the production of the seven-part Qur'an for Baybars both Ibn al-Wahīd and Sandal are mentioned but it is with the latter that the word tazmīk is associated, clearly indicating that it was a function connected with the painter and not the calligrapher. We are therefore inclined to think that Ayduḡhdī must have been responsible for painting in either the gold or polychrome areas and that these were decorated where required by the other painters. This would explain why in some cases details on the gold borders seem to have been only partially filled in or else left out altogether. This somewhat secondary role for Ayduḡhdī need not be contradicted by the imposing inscription in the seventh volume in which he records his involvement.

Other work by Ayduḡhdī

There are three other manuscripts which include contributions by this painter, or are works for which he was entirely responsible. It will best to commence with a copy of the Qur'an in the TIEM to which we have already had occasion to refer, Ms 450. This is copied 5.1 out in magnificent gold naskh of a type similar to that of Al-Khazraji but outlined in black. The unfoliated manuscript appears complete, apart from a few folios in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the Freer Gallery. Gold kufic surah titles are written over gold scrolls in blue panels with gold borders. There is a fine double-frontispiece and 5.2 finispiece and the opening and closing pages of text are fully 5.3 illuminated. Between the final pages of text and the finispiece is a double opening which contains facing each other an elaborate colophon and certificate of commissioning. The latter shows that 5.4 the Qur'an was made for Al-Nāsir Muhammad and reads :

For the treasury , the high , the lordly of the sultan Al-Malik Al-Nāsir. May God prolong its days and unfurl its banners in the East and West, exhalt its power and make the kings of the Earth obey its limitless authority, Amen. (Fig 3)

Opposite we read in a circular panel which mirrors in every detail the first :

The copying of this manuscript was completed on the last Tuesday of the month of Ramādān in the year 713 / December 1313 (Fig 4 a)

If the manuscript were destined for a mosque , this could have been the Jāmi^c al-Tadīd begun at the order of Al-Nāsir opposite Roda Island in the Nile in Muharram 711/ May 1311 and completed in Safar 712 / June 1312.⁶² Alternatively it could have been made for the mosque of the Mashhad al-Nafīsī , which opened in Safar 1314/ May 1314⁶³ , only a few months after the completion of the Qur'an. As there is no waqfiyyah we can not say positively.

Of considerable interest to us , in view of the other manuscripts associated with Ayduḡhdī, is the colophon giving the name of the scribe. This reads as follows:

5.4

This noble copy of the Qur'an, may God enoble and exhalt it, was completed at the hands of the poor slave ,yearning for the pardon and forgiveness of his Lord , Shādhi bin Muhammad bin Shādhi . n Dā'ūd bin ^cIsā bin Abī Bakr bin Ayyūb.(Fig 4 b)

It is written in rectangular panels above and below the circular inscriptions in much larger letters. The copyist was no ordinary scribe but a man of noble lineage and blood. As is occasionally the

case when a scribe of prominence copied a manuscript his full genealogy is given. This shows him to have been a minor Ayyubid prince of the House of Al-⁶⁴Adil, great grandson of Al-Nāsir Dā'ūd ruler of Karak (d. 656 / 1258) and grandson of Al-Zāhir Shādhī⁶⁵ who died in 681/1282 and was buried in Jerusalem. An examination of both published and manuscript sources reveals nothing on his father Muhammad. The only reference to Shādhī is found in Ibn Hajar⁶⁶ and says simply that he was born in 681 and died suddenly in 742/1341-2. Unfortunately we do not know whether Shādhī bin Muhammad⁶⁷ was living in Cairo or somewhere in Syria at the time the manuscript was completed , though the former seems more likely.

On the opening and closing pages of text , at the base of the hasps in the outer borders are a series of minute inscriptions which record the names of the two artists involved in the illumination of the Qur'an. On the opening pages we read :

These opening and closing pages are the work of the poor slave needy 5.5
for the mercy of God, praised be He , yearning for the forgiveness 5.6
of his Lord, Ayduḡhdī bin ^oAbdallāh al-Badrī , taught by the master
Sandal , God forgive them. (Fig 4 c)

This is a particularly important inscription since it describes the relationship between Ayduḡhdī and Sandal. Although the word nashu'a or nushu' is perhaps a little unusual , the only interpretation that we can put upon it , given that Sandal is described as 'mu'allim', ie 'master', is that Ayduḡhdī was brought up by , or taught by, him. If we look at other areas where the relationship between master and pupil is recorded , such as on metalwork , particularly that of

the Mosul craftsmen , we find that it is always the pupil or apprentice who mentions the master , never the other way round.⁶⁸

The TIEM Qur'an was made some ten years after we first become aware of Sandal and Aydughdī working together. The fact that Aydughdī refers to his old master means either that the relationship between them was still close , or that the reputation of Sandal was considerable: perhaps both. Another point worthy of notice is that Sandal must still have been alive at this time , since Aydughdī employs the ritualistic formula °afa'llāh °anhumā , God forgive them , rather than rahimahu'llāh , God have mercy upon him, which would certainly have been used had he not been alive.

On the closing pages of text in exactly the same spot we find another inscription which reads :

In the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful. This noble copy of 5.7 the Qur'an was painted by the least slave of God, praised be He, 5.8 °Alī bin Muhammad al-Rassām , known as 'al-A°sar' (the 'left-handed'), God forgive them. (Fig 4 d)

Quite probably the painter who wrote this was acting in a junior capacity to Aydughdī since he states that he was responsible for tazmīk rather than tadhhīb , he describes himself as 'rassām' not mudhahhib , while Aydughdī in a manuscript executed in the previous year does use that term. We would suggest that on this occasion Aydughdī was a full mudhahhib working with an assistant , or apprentice of his own. It is interesting that among these manuscripts so-far discussed we have come across several different terms for artists , perhaps

indicating a hierarchy. It seems clear, we would propose, that the mu^oallim was the senior painter. Below him came the mudhahhib and perhaps next came the muzammik and the rassam.

The illuminated frontis and finispieces are superb examples of their kind. Each consists of a star-polygon which repeats in the four corners. The design of the frontispiece consists of shapes which fit together to form the pattern, the interstices of which are filled with 'pelvic palmettes' and arabesque scrolls, decorated with 'tear-drops', all after the manner of Sandal. In the centre of the page on a blue ground over free-flowing arabesques is XLI Fussilat 41-2, as we see in the Chester Beatty Qur'an illuminated by Sandal. The design used by Aydughdī on this occasion is not one that we find in the work of Sandal. It does occur however in several other manuscripts. It appears in two Mamluke Qur'ans, the earliest dated 1314⁶⁹ and the other produced in the 1340's. It is also found in an extremely important Ilkhanid Qur'an made in Baghdad some seven years previously.

But there other links with Sandal's work. The fillers in the interstices, and the palmette border are all painted over grounds of fine red or black hatchings. In the outer border both Aydughdī and Sandal in the Chester Beatty Qur'an employ a large tri-lobed motif with crossed arms. The palmettes swell up in the centre of the outer margin to form a hasp, here and in all the signed compositions by these two artists.

In the finispiece the design of the trellis is bordered above and below by panels of kufic inscriptions over arabesque scrolls. All the characteristics that we have referred to in describing the frontispiece are found here.

Once again the design of the finispiece trellis is of some cons-

iderable importance. It is made up of a twelve-armed star-polygon in the centre and repeated in the four corners. The five are separated by long narrow panels which end in hexagons. This is the earliest recorded use of this pattern in a fourteenth century Qur'an. In later years it occurs on several occasions. We find it used in Mamluke Qur'ans produced in the 1350's and 60's , as well as in the famous Qur'an made for Öljaytū in Hamadan in 1313-14 and brought to Cairo in the 1320's.

The design and detail of the opening pages of text in the 1313 Qur'an is virtually identical to that of the Chester Beatty Qur'an illuminated by Sandal. There are some divergences: Aydughdī employs both here and elsewhere kufic script in which the verticals lack the 'spike' , something Sandal never does. In Sandal's work the scrolls which underlie the text on a page are rather more carefully worked out. But by and large , Aydughdī follows in the tradition of his master. That this was a particular tradition and not a general Mamluke convention can be seen by comparing the manuscript with other contemporary ones : something we shall do shortly. 5.3

Before leaving this manuscript which is one of the most important of the series , let us examine another inscription which appears on the final folio. This consists of two short certificates declaring that the Qur'an is without error and recording the pointing of the manuscript. A calligrapher would not have been expected to be an authority on grammar , thus upon completion a Qur'an would have to be examined to make sure that it was perfect. This must have occurred with all Qur'ans , though the number of occasions when we have any written evidence of this is almost non-existent. Similarly , it is assumed that the calligrapher was responsible for pointing the āyāt

but we know from inscriptions in a number of Qur'ans that this was not always so.⁷⁰ There are two sets of vowels in the manuscript : one in gold , probably written in by the calligrapher Shādhī bin Muhammad, and a second complimentary group in blue. These are probably the work of the pointer. The two certificates read :

This Noble Qur'an has been examined from start to finish and found to be free of grammatical mistakes and errors , and deemed unblemished by flaws and imperfections. Signed: Muhammad al-Sarrāj al-Muqri'.

This Noble Qur'an has been vocalised by the slave needy of God, praised be He , Khalīl bin Muhammad al-Bahnasī.⁷¹ (Fig 4 e)

The two remaining works illuminated by Aydughdī are copies of the collection of inshā' correspondence of Al-Nāsir Dā'ūd. Al-Nāsir Dā'ūd⁷² succeeded his father as prince of Damascus in 1227 but was ejected by a coalition of his uncles. As a compensation he was ensconced in Karak , where he remained until 1249. He was considered a master of the chancery epistolary style and in 670/1271-2 his son Al-Malik al-Amjad al-Hasan collected some of this correspondence, interspacing it with historical commentary. It is this work entitled Al-Fawā'id al-Jaliyyah that was copied and illuminated by Aydughdī in 712/1312 (British Library Ms Or 3025).

The manuscript is not complete. It consists of 83 folios of fine black naskh with gold headings. Fortunately the colophon page survives and this tells us:

The copying and illumination of this (manuscript) were completed at the hands of the poor slave , needy for the mercy of God, praised be

He, Aydughdī bin ^cAbdallāh al-Mudhahhib, at the end of Shā^cbān
712/ December 1312. (Fig 5 a)

This is the first recorded occasion of this artist calling himself 'mudhahhib' and we would suggest that he achieved this status at some time between 1306 and 1312. It is also of considerable interest that the work being copied and illuminated is the Fawā'id containing the writings of the great grandfather of Shādhī bin Muhammad. This can be no co-incidence. It must be clear that Aydughdī was working for -or with- Shādhī.

On the two surviving illuminated pages the text is set in a central panel over red arabesque scrolls on a ground of red hatchings. The scrolls are not nearly so animated as those in the work of Sandal but have the essential characteristics of his 'knobbed' arabesques. Above and below are gold arabesques on a blue rectangular ground resembling those used by Sandal in volume five of the Baybars Qur'an. At the sides are vertical panels of gold strapwork with a lobed hasp in the centre margin and medallions above and below. This page is a miniature repeat of the those at the beginning of volume five. However Aydughdī does not use the heavily modelled palmettes and between the central panel and the surrounding ones introduces a simple band of edging which, while it was to become very popular in later Mamluke work, makes its first recorded appearance here in a Mamluke Qur'an.

The other manuscript in Istanbul (Aya Sofia Ms 4823) is a complete version of the Fawā'id containing 145 folios. It is signed by Shādhī bin Muhammad bin Shādhī, copyist of the 1313 Qur'an and is dated 719/1320. According to a fine inscription on the final illuminated pages

the manuscript was copied for the library of 'Sultān ^CImād'. (Fig 5 b)
Given the date of 1320, the most likely person this could be is
the famous historian and lesser Ayyubid ruler of Hama, Al-Malik
al-Sālih al-Mu^Cayyid ^CImād al-Dīn Abu'l-Fidā' Ismā^Cīl, usually known
simply as Abu'l-Fidā'⁷³, who ruled from 710/1310 to 732/1331. Given
Abu'l-Fidā's interests this is exactly the kind of work he would
have wanted.

Although this manuscript is not, as far as we know, signed by
Aydughdī, the illuminated pages are unmistakably his.⁷⁴ The pages 7.1
are laid out in exactly the same manner as those in the earlier
copy of this manuscript and the arabesque scrolls which underlie
the text are identical to those employed by him in his known work.
Both stylistic and strong circumstantial evidence would seem to
indicate that this is the work of Aydughdī, continuing his assoc-
iation with Shādhī bin Muhammad at the court of his relative Abu'l-
Fidā' in Hama.

Before finishing our examination of the work of Aydughdī we must
take cognizance of an article written some years ago on these two
manuscripts.⁷⁵ The author of the article was in the process of editing
the letters of Al-Nāsir Dā'ūd and came to the conclusion that the
British Library copy was actually later than the Istanbul version
but had been pre-dated by the copyist. Briefly his reasoning was
as follows: The two manuscripts are identical except for the fact
that the Istanbul copy contains a medallion in the margin to the
effect that at that point the original compiler, Al-Malik al-Amjad
al-Hasan, died. According to the writer the text was later continued
by Shādhī bin Muhammad, copying out the original up to the point
where it had abruptly terminated and then carrying on to add a second
half of his own compilation.

The writer of the article believed that Aydughdī, for some reason, wished to claim authorship of the Fawā'id for himself. Our only real concern with this argument is that if it be true then we can advance the career of Aydughdī even further, beyond the date of the Istanbul Fawā'id manuscript of 1320. We are however inclined to reject the argument. The family ties between Shādhī and Al-Nāsir Dā'ūd have led the writer to the belief that the former was the person who completed the unfinished text of the Fawā'id, though to our knowledge this is not stated in the work. He makes much of the fact that Shādhī uses the phrase in his colophon : wa kān al-farāgh min kitābatihī 'alā yadd... The writing of this was completed by... and that the identical words are used by Aydughdī. The first being a genuine autograph copy, so the second must be a forgery.

The words of the colophon however are part of a standard scribal formula and mean copying not compiling. The explanation would seem to be that both Aydughdī and Shādhī were copying and that the latter is not the compiler of the second part of the Fawā'id. In any case the writer of the article was not aware of the close links between the two men. He remarks that he has been unable to locate any other reference to either.⁷⁶ Had he been aware of the Qur'an in the TIEM on which both worked he would perhaps have come to different conclusions.

A reconstruction of the career of Aydughdī bin 'Abdallāh.

Aydughdī was the pupil of Sandal and worked with him on the major project directed by Ibn al-Wahīd to produce a seven-part Qur'an of sumptuous appearance for the khānqāh of the Emir Baybars al-

Jashankīr . He was occupied on this from 1304 until around 1306 or 7. By 1312 he was a mudhahhib , and probably no longer with Sandal. At any rate in that year we find him engaged on a manuscript of the Fawā'id al-Jaliyyah , the collected correspondence of the Ayyūbid monarch Al-Nāsir Dā'ūd, great grandfather of Shādhī bin Muhammad , a fine calligrapher of royal blood, with whom we next find him working. Together they produced a magnificent single-volume Qur'an for the library of the sultan Al-Nāsir Muhammad. This was almost certainly made in Cairo. Aydughdī evidently had a pupil of his own at this stage since the Qur'an bears the signature of a certain ^cAlī bin Muhammad 'the left-handed' , whose work is not very much in evidence. Like Aydughdī in 1304-7 he was probably responsible only for painting in work drawn out by the main illuminator. Exactly what the relationship was between Shādhī and Aydughdī we do not know. However in 1320 the former copied out a manuscript for the library of his distant relative the ruler of Hama. The illumination of this is identical to the known work of Aydughdī and it seems probable that the two made their way to the court of the prince of Hama where they were in 1320.

An appraisal of Aydughdī bin ^cAbdallāh's style.

The style of Aydughdī is essentially that of his master Sandal. We can see exactly the same decorative repertoire in use : compositions of a similar design ; almost identical though rather simplified fillers in the central trellises ; extensive use of finely hatched grounds ; palmette borders of the same type - gold with 'tear-drop' motifs coming to an extension in the central margin ; kufic of a very similar type on arabesque scrolls. The arabesque scrolls , though

not quite so animated as those of Sandal are of the same knobbed bulbous type. There is also the use of the same Qur'anic āyat for decorative purposes :almost as if they were being used as a 'trade-mark' of the group. There are a number of minor details that do not appear in the work of Sandal and a number of trellis designs. The latter would probably be evident if we had more examples of Sandal's work.

What other examples are there of this style? There are at least two other Qur'ans which can be said to follow in this tradition. The first is one sold some years ago in Christies and whose present whereabouts are unknown. The reproduction in the sale catalogue shows several of the features mentioned in connection with Aydughdī and Sandal.

The second is more important. It is Ms VII,9 in the Keir Collection. This is a single-volume Qur'an copied in 730/1330 by Muhammad bin Bilbek al-Muhsinī al-Nāsirī , for the library of Al-Nāsir Muhammad. Although the illuminated pages differ slightly from the earlier Sandal/Aydughdī Qur'ans , the absence of marginal hasps and medallions may be put down to changes in taste: we see the same features in other contemporary manuscripts. However , the similarities are striking.

The trellis design employed for the central panels of the opening pages is the same as that used by Sandal on two occasions. In the central star-polygon we find XLI Fussilat 41-2 , which only occurs in the work of Sandal and Aydughdī. The fillers in the geometric interstices derive from those of the early period , even though of inferior quality. The border of alternating palmettes employed for the border corresponds almost exactly to that used by Aydughdī around the finispiece of the 1313 Qur'an. Curiously

the design of the border has been 'trimmed' by the artist on two sides as if he made an error or could not adapt it to fit.

The layout and decoration of the opening pages of text are very close to those of the earlier manuscripts : even the wording of the kufic inscriptions is the same ⁷⁹ *بالدينة* instead of *انزلت مدينه*.

The arabesque scrolls under the text are of the type directly associated with Sandal and Aydughdī. This manuscript is probably not a late work of either of the above , but by some other artist who worked with them , or was perhaps merely copying their style. Whatever the case may have been , this is the last manuscript that we can associate directly with the style of Sandal.

There are a number of other Qur'ans that can be tentatively associated. ⁸⁰ Cairo National Library Ms 55 , though not of the same quality as the earlier Qur'ans illuminated by Sandal and Aydughdī , has all the essential features of the group. The central trellis design is the same as that used by Sandal in volume five of the Baybars Qur'an ; the star-polygon bears XLI Fussilat 41-2; similar scrolls are used in the interstices of the trellis. In the body of the text the script is a bold thulth with khamma and ^oashara signs identical to those in the work of Sandal. Surah headings are in large gold thulth-ash^oar as in the Baybars Qur'an and Chester Beatty mss 1437 and 1457.

Other manuscripts which show some connection are: ⁸¹ Cairo National Library Ms 4 , with a waqfiyyah endowing it to the mosque in the citadel and dated 729/ 1328-9 : a Qur'an sold in Christies in 1970, present whereabouts unknown.

2. Other traditions in this period.

The tradition of Sandal is not the only one of which we are aware.

Others are unfortunately not so well-known. We will turn to the most important of these now.

Ms 447⁸² in the TIEM is a complete single-volume Qur'an fifteen lines to the page, copied in good black naskh. The colophon is in a gold square at the end of Sūrat al-Nās and reads as follows:

The copying of this Noble Qur'an was completed - may God send back its blessing to the one who commissioned it - on 13 Rabī^c I 714/
29 June 1314 in the script of ^cAli bin Abī Sālim. (Fig 5 o)

At the end of the manuscript is another inscription which gives the name of the illuminator and binder of the Qur'an. This reads:

Illuminated and bound by the poor slave needy for the help of God, praised be He, ^cAbdallāh al-Safawī al-Halabī. (Fig 5 d)

Throughout the text each surah is introduced by a title in gold thulth. The opening surahs are introduced in exactly the same way, being entirely undifferentiated from the rest of the manuscript. This method was followed in Iran and the Maghreb but is rare in Mamluke Qur'ans. The sign in the margin indicating each fifth verse is a definite 'pear-drop' shape, while that indicating each tenth verse is given a brown border instead of the blue one usually found.

10.1

The manuscript opens with a fine double frontispiece, comprising a central rectangular geometric trellis with inscription panels above and below. There is no palmette border. The inscriptions, in white muhaggaq are LVI Al-Wāqī^cah, 77-81.

10.2

The design of the trellis on the opening frontispiece is identical to that used in the TIEM Qur'an of 1313. The colour scheme and decorative elements used as fillers are entirely different. The pentagons around the centre contain either a lotus like palmette or a simple palmette with looped base and two leaves springing from its centre. These are in green - a colour rarely used at this time- on gold. In the interstices at the top and bottom of the composition the fillers are green 'S' scrolls on gold.

In Aydughdī's version of this composition in the 1313 Qur'an all the fillers converge on the elements they surround, here in contrast all motifs converge on the centre, making an entirely self-contained pattern. Instead of a free arabesque scroll in the centre there are two concentric bands of fleurs-de-lis radiating from a twelve-sided nucleus. The quarter polygons in the four corners contain floral sprays and are regarded not as repeats of the centre but as separate elements. In the outer margin the central hasp is an unusual 'pear-drop' shape.

Were it not for the certificate of commissioning we might be tempted to ascribe this manuscript to a spot far from Egypt. This appears on the final pages as a counter-balance to the frontispiece and is a magnificent example of its kind. It occupies both pages and reads :

10.3

God is the Effector of righteousness. This Noble Qur'an was written for the library of the noble the lord, the sultan, the high, the just, Al-Malik al-Nāsir Muhammad, sultan of Islam and the muslims, partner of the Commander of the Faithful, may God make his reign eternal and make the Qur'an his imam and his heaven and his intercessor.

May the angels ever-in-his-presence be his helpers and supporters and may eternal paradise be his refuge and abode. Amen O Lord of the two worlds etc. (Fig 6 a)

This is written in fine gold thulth on a ground of red hatchings. Between the lines are gold arabesque scrolls with large fully-formed leaves. Similar white ones and a multiple black triple-dot motif are scattered between script and scrolls. There is an outer border of white strapwork and in the centre of each margin a single medallion with a palmette.

The Qur'an appears to have little in common with the manuscripts previously described. As the illuminator's nisbah is al-Halabī, of Aleppo this suggests perhaps a Syrian origin. Either that or the work of a Syrian working in Cairo. Qur'ans from Syria in this period are extremely rare. The Chester Beatty Library is fortunate in possessing one from that area which has a colophon giving an exact location for it. The manuscript is in two separate parts bound as one (Ms 1473).⁸³ The beginning and end are missing but at the end of the first part we read :

11.1

Written by Ibrāhīm bin ʿAlī bin Sanāʾ al-Mulk, thanking God, praised be He etc..... in Tripoli ... 723/1323. (Fig 6 b)

In the surviving areas of illumination this manuscript has some interesting parallels with the 1314 Qur'an. None employ palmette borders while the beginning of the text in each half has lines of arabesque scrolls between the āyat over a red hatched ground. This would seem to be a characteristic of Syrian manuscripts at this time

11.2

since there is no evidence of it in either contemporary Ilkhanid nor Mamluke Qur'ans.

We are inclined to think that this is the work of a Syrian artist employed in Cairo , perhaps in the same studio as Shādhī and Aūdughdī, and that the Qur'an was commissioned by the sultan for the same location as the 1313 TIEM Qur'an.

Another Qur'an worthy of comment is Ms 1481⁸⁴ in the Chester Beatty Library dated Rajab 720 / August 1320. This has many of the characteristics of the Sandal group but is rather larger (48 x 36cm as opposed to 33 x 25cm in the case of Chester Beatty Quran Ms 1479 illuminated by Sandal). The script in this manuscript looks much more like muhaqqaq than anything else we have seen in the first two decades of the fourteenth century. Its place of origin and relation to earlier manuscripts are unknown as it bears no documentary information other than the date.

12.1

Summary.

Patronage : During the period under discussion we are familiar with only two patrons, the Emir Baybars al-Jāshankīr and Sultan Al-Nāsir Muḥammad. Furthermore few of the surviving manuscripts bear waqfiyyahs. Although a number of mosques , madrasahs and other institutions were founded in this period , the number of manuscripts associated with them and their patrons is strictly limited. This could be due to the loss or destruction of manuscripts , though it would be wrong in our opinion to exaggerate this possibility. It could be due to the lack of outstanding local artists or to the expenses involved. The latter were considerable. Baybars we are told gave 1,600 dinars to Ibn al-Wahīd and even if , as is rumoured, all was not spent on the Qur'an the patron accepted this as the probable price. It

was not simply the cost of material such as gold and silver. There was also the cost of maintaining anything from two to five artists for several months or several years.

Calligraphy: We know the names of several outstanding calligraphers though not as many as we would have supposed, considering that Cairo was the Mamluke metropolis. The most prominent was Ibn al-Wahīd but there were others like Shādhī bin Muḥammad and Muḥammad al-Khazrajī. These men are figures whose names are not recorded for posterity as calligraphers, though the former was important enough as a minor member of a famous family to be mentioned in Ibn Hajar's biographical compilation. We are basing our assessment of them simply on the outstanding quality of their work. There were others who were not outstanding but competent scribes or officials such as ʿAlī bin Abī Sālim and Muḥammad al-Muḥsinī al-Nāsirī.

Contrary to what is often asserted about the styles of script favoured by the Mamlukes, the most typical varieties in this early period were naskh and thulth, not muhaggaq and never rayḥān. Large-format multiple-part Qur'ans such as those produced in Ilkhanid Baghdad were not popular at this time and the seven-part Qur'an of Baybars is the exception which proves the rule. Nothing to equal the Ilkhanid manuscripts in size and magnificence was produced after 1306 until the reign of Shāḥbān bin Ḥusayn (1363-76). The typical Mamluke Qur'an of this period is medium-sized, single-volume, in black, or occasionally gold, naskh.

Illumination: This period is comparatively rich in information on Qur'an illuminators. We know the names and something of the careers of several. Among the most important were the well-known master

Ṣandal who has the unique distinction of having his work mentioned , and praised, by Ṣafadī and Ibn Ḥajar and his pupil Ayduḡḡdī. We can trace the career of the latter from his beginnings as an apprentice of Ṣandal working on the Baybars Qur'an project in Cairo , then for Sultan Al-Nāṣir Muḡammad and finally for Abu'l-Fidā' , the Ayyubid ruler of Hama.

The style of these two painters is quite readily recognisable and we can trace its development down until 1330 when it seems to fade out.

We also know of Muḡammad bin Mubādir , whom as we shall see , was either trained in Baghdad , or by a Baghdadi artist. We are aware of his activities in Cairo for a short time in the first decade of the century. We can also point to a Syrian painter , ^cAbdallāh al-Ḥalabī who was in Cairo around 1314. All of these artists probably undertook other activities ; some were scribes others binders. This would have enabled them to move easily from place to place , as it appears they did , in search of employment , or perhaps in answer to offers of commissions.

Whether full-scale studios existed in places like the house of Baybars or the library of Al-Nāṣir Muḡammad is difficult to say. But with regard to the Qur'an of Baybars , we would suggest that the workshop where it was produced was located in the Mosque of Al-Ḥakim. Ibn al-Wahīd was kātib al-sharī^cah there ; the building is adjacent to the khānqāh for which it was destined and would have had the right atmosphere in its inner parts , of undisturbed tranquility.

Chapter Two : Baghdad and Mosul under the Ilkhanids 1300-1316.

It is an odd paradox that we should know so much more about a relatively obscure group of calligraphers in Cairo at this time than we do about the great, venerated masters of classical calligraphy, the sittah, that is, the six pupils of Yāqūt al-Musta^csimī from whom most later Timurid, Safavid and Ottoman masters traced their descent.

We know virtually nothing about the lives of most of them. We are not even certain of their names as the historians of calligraphy give contradictory information¹ and where they do agree such facts as we have been able to obtain show that their researches were incomplete.

It is not our purpose to deal with Yāqūt. He died in 1298 just outside of the period with which we are concerned and there are no works from the hands of his pupils in existence before 1300. In any case the problems associated with the true identification of Yāqūt Qur'ans are so great as to require a separate study in their own right.

As far as we can tell the members of the sittah were :

1. Arghūn bin ^cAbdallāh al-Kāmilī
2. Nasrallāh al-Ṭabīb also known as Nāsir al-Dīn Mutatabbib
3. Yūsuf al-Mashhadī/ al-Khurasānī
4. Mubārak-Shāh bin Qutb al-Ṭabrizī, called 'Zarīn-Qalam' also known as Mubārak-Shāh al-Sultānī and Mubārak-Shāh bin ^cAbdallāh.
5. Sayyid or Mīr Haydar called 'Gandah-Navis'
6. Ahmad bin al-Suhrawardī called 'Shaykh-Zādah'

A number of Qur'ans exist bearing the names of some of the above and in the course of this survey we shall be examining the more important of these. However, such was the prestige of these famous names that facsimiles were produced in large quantities, not

to mention straight-forward forgeries. Thus we have had to impose a set of rigid criteria to establish the authenticity of the manuscripts examined.

To be considered genuine a Qur'an must bear a date from the period in which the calligrapher is thought to have lived. Historians are not always exact in the dates they give. It should have contemporary illumination. It should have a certificate of commissioning. Most important of all it should have the name of at least one other person associated it with it - that of the illuminator² or corrector - the significance being that such a person would have been unlikely to have put his name to a manuscript which he knew to be a forgery.

These criteria are by no means perfect, but they are the best that we have been able to form after examining all the known examples.

1. Baghdad : The Qur'an of Ghāzān.

Among the acknowledged masterpieces of calligraphy from the first decade of the fourteenth century is a superb thirty-part Qur'an bearing the name of Ahmad bin al-Suhrawardī. This appears to have been first exhibited in Tehran in the 1940's³ then in the Metropolitan Museum of Art⁴ a little later. Several ajzā' were shown in the Qur'an Exhibition of 1976⁵ and some of these published in full colour at the same time by Lings.⁶

This fine manuscript has long been dismembered and dispersed. Today the few surviving pieces are found in at least four countries on three different continents. Our researches have uncovered the following :

Topkapi Library Ms EH 250. Juz' 2 , illuminated in Ramādān 702/
April 1303.

Topkapi Library Ms EH 247. Juz' 4.

Iran-Bastan Museum Ms 3548/⁷ Chester Beatty Library Ms 1614, Juz' 10
illuminated in Rajab 704/February 1305.

Topkapi Library Ms EH 249. Juz' 13, illuminated in Rabi'^c I 705/
November 1305.

Iran-Bastan Museum Ms 3350/⁸ Chester Beatty Library Ms 1614. Juz' 25.⁹

Iran-Bastan Museum Ms 3532/¹⁰ Metropolitan Museum of Art Ms Rogers 50.12¹¹
Juz' 26, written in 706/ 1306-7.

Iran-Bastan Museum Ms 3522. Juz' 28.¹²

Metropolitan Museum of Art Ms Rogers 55.44. Detached final folio ill-
uminated in 707/1307-8.

There are several colophons by the illuminator explicitly stating that the parts were illuminated, and from this we can assume written, in the city of Baghdad. If the second volume was illuminated in April 1302 then we can safely assume that the calligrapher commenced his work in the final weeks of 1301, or at the very latest January 1302 and completed his task in 1307.

The circumstances of commissioning.

The first question with which we have to deal is: for whom was this outstanding manuscript made? In view of the fact that it bears the signature of Ibn al-Suhrawardī one of the great masters of the time,^{13.1} clearly cost a huge amount to produce and is in a size and format only associated with royal or extremely important patrons - like Öljaytū or the Vizir Rashīd al-Dīn, it is most likely that the Qur'an was made for the ruling sultan or his minister.

In our opinion there are only three possible patrons: the two vizirs of Sultan Ghāzān, Sa'd al-Dīn Sāvajī and Rashīd al-Dīn

who were appointed jointly in 1298 , or the sultan himself. We are inclined to believe that it was the latter. Apart from this manuscript there are four other similar ones. Of these three were commissioned by Öljaytü , Ghāzān's successor and only one by his vizir - Rashīd al-Dīn- and then only after the death of Öljaytü. The possible destination of the manuscript may have been Ghāzān's mausoleum which was begun in 1297¹³ and completed in 1301¹⁴. None of the surviving volumes bears a certificate of commissioning and there are no waqfiyyahs. Unless the first or last volume appear at some stage in the future we shall probably never know whether our suggestion is correct or not. For the rest of this study we shall refer to the manuscript as Qur'an A (Baghdad).

The work of the calligrapher and artist.

a) Ahmad bin al-Suhrawardī and the calligraphy: All historians of calligraphy mention Ibn al-Suhrawardī¹⁵ but the information they give is meagre. The general outlines of his life seem to have been as follows. His full name is not known , he is simply called 'Ibn al-Suhrawardī' or in Persian 'Shaykh-Zādah' , 'the son of the Shaykh' , who must have been we presume the sufi author of the 'Awārif al-Ma'ārif' , Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ Umar bin Abdallāh¹⁶ born in the small town of Suhraward near Sultaniyyah in 1145 and died in Baghdad in 1234. Thus Ibn al-Suhrawardī was not the 'son', but more likely the grandson of the great sufi. In his colophons the calligrapher always signs himself in the way that we have mentioned above. There is one exception. In the single page now in 13.2 the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Ms 55.44) he adds after al-Suhrawardī the word 'al-Bakrī'. The precise meaning of 'al-Bakrī' is not clear

: it could mean , among other things , a member of the Arab tribe of Bakr or a person claiming descent from Abū Bakr , the first Caliph. We are told that he was born in Baghdad , but came in contact with Yāqūt when the latter was passing through the town of Shahrāzur in the province of Kurdistan , where Ibn al-Suhrawardī was teaching. He is said to have written inscriptions for a number of buildings in Baghdad including the masjid al-jāmi^C and is reputed to have died in the year 720/ 1320-1.

Such was the life of the great calligrapher. He is credited with the production of no more than thirty-three¹⁷ complete Qur'ans. A figure quite possible if it really took him from 1301 until 1307 to write Qur'an A (Baghdad). Of his work little survives. The vizir Rashīd al-Dīn owned twenty Qur'ans by him¹⁸ which he endowed to his own mausoleum. What became of these is not known. A copy of the Qur'an signed by him and dated 718/ 1318-19 was for years mentioned as¹⁹ being in Aya Sofia but has been transferred to the TIEM we are told²⁰ by Fasa'ili. The Chester Beatty Library possesses an interesting copy which may be genuine. It is a complete single-volume copy²¹ (Ms 1467) in thulth and naskh dated 701 /1301. The colophon signature closely resembles those in 'Qur'an A (Baghdad) and the illumination though slight and partially concealed looks like Ilkhanid work. The manuscript does bear the certificate of a corrector Muhammad bin ^CAbd al-^CAzīz al-Abharī (of Abhar west of Qazvin) which ,if normal practise was followed, would have been added when the Qur'an was completed.

The Qur'an of 1301-7 is written in beautiful black muhaggaq , perhaps verging slightly on thulth , with all vowels and orthographic signs also in black. No colour is included in the script

which forms the perfect counterbalance to the vivid polychromatic colours of the marginal ornaments. There are five lines of script to each page. The relationship of the letters to one another and the relationship of these to the size of the page achieve a perfect balance, which when taken together with the harmony of the colours of script and ornament make this one of the finest Qur'ans ever produced.

The colophons of Ibn al-Suhrawardī usually follow the text of the Qur'an, occupy exactly the same space, and are in identical muhaggaq script. Occasionally, if the colophon is not complete by the time the bottom of the page is reached, it is completed in tiny naskh at the side or underneath. 13.1 13.3

b) The illuminator : Muhammad bin Aybak bin ^cAbdallāh . The painter who gives us his full name on more than one occasion has signed and dated four of the surviving portions of the Qur'an. This information is invaluable when attempting to calculate just how long it took to produce a superb manuscript such as this one. Not only does Ibn Aybak tell us when he completed the manuscript but where. Perhaps the fullest colophon by him occurs in the thirteenth volume and reads:

Illuminated by the weakest of His slaves, Muhammad bin Aybak bin ^cAbdallāh in the City of Peace, Baghdad, God protect it. He completed it on Monday 20 Rabi^c I 705. (Fig 7a)

On the basis of the information given in the inscriptions we can see that between the beginning of 1303 and - let us say - the beginning of 1306 the calligrapher completed twenty-five volumes, that is approximately eight volumes a year. The second volume was illum-

inated in April 1303 and the tenth had been completed by February 1305. Thus it took approximately two years to illuminate eight volumes , that is four a year , twice as long as it took to write them. This figure is confirmed by the thirteenth volume which bears an inscription by Ibn Aybak certifying that he completed the illumination in November 1305; that is, one volume approximately every three months , making four a year. It seems probable , even though we have no documentary evidence to prove it, that Ibn Aybak would have had an assistant - perhaps more than one. Certainly if Baghdad was anything like Cairo this would have been the case ; and manuscript illumination must have been much better developed in the old caliphal capital than in Cairo.

All of the volumes are illuminated in the same way. There is a fine opening double-frontispiece , followed by illuminated opening pages , sometimes with illuminated closing pages. Throughout , surah-headings are finely illuminated and each fifth and tenth verse indicated by a decorated medallion in the margin. These latter are breathtaking in their splendour: each one is a mini-work of art in its own right.

Each half of the double frontispiece appears to be conceived as a separate entity. Unlike most later ones all of these have a border of equal width on all sides. The basic design of each is the same. A central panel , which may or may not be supported by rectangular ones bearing inscriptions above and below, is surrounded by a narrow band of gold strapwork. Beyond , separated only by a narrow band of edging, is a fine outer border of arabesque scrolls - never alternating palmettes. The patterns used to make up the central panels can be divided into four groups. Those with a central eight-pointed star with surrounding hexagons (2 and 26) ; those with a central multi- 13.4-5 pointed star (4 and 25): those based on a central hexagon within 13.6-7

a diamond that touches the four sides of the rectangle (13 and 28) : 13.8
-9
a piece of straight-forward repeat block-pattern (10). These patterns show great variety and inventiveness. In Mamluke Qur'an frontispieces patterns similar to those of 4 and 25 are common but the others much less so. There appear to be no Mamluke examples of the type of semi-independent composition (13 and 28) which we find again in the later work of Ibn Aybak.

Interstices are filled with single, double or quadruple palmettes or arabesque scrolls. In the second volume the scrolls have a much more naturalistic appearance while the accompanying five-pointed shapes contain a piece of arabesque scroll from which five tendrils sprout : exactly as we see in the 1313-14 Hamadan Qur'an²², but nowhere else in this manuscript. Kufic inscriptions are always in white and of a rather orthodox type, with the exception of the second volume where there is a certain amount of distortion. 13.4

Around the central panel are two concentric bands of gold strapwork, the outer one being thicker and more elaborate than the inner one. Around all panels and bands of strapwork we find several types of edging. In most cases the edging consists of either a simple tooth design or flat links. But in the case of volume two the flat links are separated by double loops and there is a green band with repeat motif that does not appear elsewhere.

All panels are surrounded by an outer border which in all instances consists of arabesque scrolls, yellow on blue with a secondary pattern in chocolate brown running through them. In each example there is a fine medallion in the margin and this is composed of the same elements as the border. The medallions are never round but pointed or else with a 'jui' shape at the outer end.

All volumes , with the exception of number two are illuminated in an identical manner. The text , surrounded by white clouds, lies on a bed of large green scrolls over a ground of red hatchings and treble-dots. At the top and bottom are rectangular panels with kufic inscriptions ending in a lozenge. There is a narrow palmette border in which the 'root' of the palemtte faces outwards. In volume two the inscription panels end not in a lozenge but in an eight-pointed star , like a tile, which bears a circular arabesque scroll with large rather fleshy leaves. Identical ones occur on the frontispieces. In overall appearance this volume seems to have had a little more attention given to it. When we turn to the final folios we find something else which is interesting. The final pages have been lavishly illuminated after the fasion of the opening ones. This oc curs here and in no other surviving volume apart from the loose page in the Metropolitan Museum. In the panels above and below the final words of Juz' 2 is an elaborate kufic inscription over arabesque scrolls which reads as follows:

13.10

13.11

13.12

The illumination of this (juz') was completed in the month of Ramādān the blessed in the year 702 of the Hijrah by Muhammad bin Aybak, thanking God , praised be He, praying and saluting (Fig 7b)

The single detatched folio has only part of the inscription by Ibn Aybak and reads:

...Baghdād ,may God ,praised be He, protect it, in the year 707 hilāliyyah (Fig 7c)

13.2

How are we to understand the differences between the illumination of volume two and the remaining ones? There are two possible explanations. The first is that this is the only volume actually illuminated in its entirety by Ibn Aybak. The remainder being painted largely by assistants under his direction and after having been drawn by him. The other explanation could be that Ibn Aybak simply devoted more time to this volume as he intended to sign it at the end, as an example of his virtuosity. The lost volume to which the Metropolitan page belongs must be similarly executed. We are inclined to think the second explanation the more likely, though Ibn Aybak was undoubtedly assisted by other artists.

Throughout the text āyas are indicated with fine polychrome rosettes. The passage of each fifth and tenth verse is shown in the margin by medallions of the most elaborate and beautiful kind. Each being a perfect work of art of outstanding virtuosity. There is almost nothing like them in any other Qur'an that we have examined. They are entirely different from Mamluke work before the 1370's, where marginal ornaments, no matter how fine, tend to be standardised. What is particularly impressive, both here and in the other other illuminated areas, is the very wide range of colours used by the artist and by the high quality of the pigment which looks as fresh today as when Ibn Aybak applied it.

Surah titles are always in graceful kufic, the vertical strokes reaching to the top of the rectangular panels containing them. The marginal palmettes are greatly varied, but often identical in construction only the colour being different.

Other work by Muhammad bin Aybak : The Qur'an of Öljaytū.

Muhammad bin Aybak worked on at least one other Qur'an of a type

similar to Qur'an A (Baghdad) , which like that manuscript , alas, is dismembered and scattered throughout the libraries of Europe and Turkey. Unlike the former manuscript however, there is no mystery about the person who commissioned this one , nor about the place to which it was to be endowed.

The Qur'an is rather larger than the previous one (72 x 50cm as opposed to 50 x 37cm) , and is copied in thirty ajza' five lines to the page. Today its surviving parts are in Germany or Istanbul , or Denmark in the following places :

Karl Marx University Library, Leipzig. Ms XXXVII K1. Juz' 1 copied 706 / 1306-7.²³

Topkapi Library Ms EH 243. Juz' 7 , copied in 707 / 1307-8 and illuminated in Dhu'l-Hijjah 710 / April 1311.

Library of Dresden Ms 444. Juz' 4.

Karl Marx University Library, Leipzig. Ms XXXVII K 1. Juz' 10.²⁴
TIEM Ms 339. Juz' 17.

Topkapi Library Ms EH 245. Juz' 20.²⁵

Topkapi Library Ms EH 234. Juz' 21.

Royal Library, Copenhagen Ms N 7. Juz' 24.

Library of Dresden Ms 444. Juz' 28.

Karl Marx University Library, Ms XXXVII K 1. Juz' 29.²⁶

The two dated colophons in the manuscript give no scribe, merely :

²⁷
Copied by the poor slave , needy for God's mercy , aspiring (?) for His generosity , in the City of Peace, Baghdād , in the year 706 , thanking God, praying for the Prophet of God etc... (Fig 7d)

The circumstances of commissioning

The manuscript was commissioned by Ghāzān's successor Öljaytū (1304-16)

in 1306 , a fact made quite clear by the fine large certificates which are attached to the front of several volumes which with slight variation from one to another read :

This juz', together with the ones before and after from the Beloved Book, was copied for the glorification of the Islamic Faith with the assistance of the Lord of Majesty and Honour, at the orders of the lord , the great sultan, shadow of God on earth, bringer of justice and security over the domain of God, bringer of favour and beneficence for the servants of God , supported by the Compassionate One with the light of faith , Öljaytü-Qān Khudābandah, Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Muhammad, paver of the road of civilisation , may God fulfill His bounty towards him , as He has chosen him and entrusted him with His people , which is the best thing He has, and may He make him achieve his ultimate hopes for happiness in the Two Abodes with the help of the chosen one Muhammad and his house. (Fig 8)²⁸

Shortly after Öljaytü ascended the Ilkhanid throne he began to build a mausoleum at Sultaniyyah , the current capital of the Mongol domain. It was for this edifice that the Qur'an was apparently destined. Work commenced in Muharram 705 / July 1305²⁹ , about a year before the Qur'an under discussion was begun.

After completion the manuscript was endowed to the mausoleum as two waqfiyyahs , one in the Leipzig manuscript and another in Topkapı Ms EH 243, indicate :

This juz' along with the remainder of its thirty parts was endowed ,hoping for Divine victory , praised be He, on the Day of Judgement

when stands before Him, the lord, the greatest sultan, possessor of the subservience of nations, shadow of God on earth, invigorator of the principles of the Sunnah , object of the support of the Lord of the Two Worlds, attached to the firm bond of God, sultan of sultans in the Two Worlds, succor of truth, the world and the faith, Öljaytü-Sultān, Muhammad, may God make ascend the ladder of conquest the one who carries out His work and make his happiness in the Two Worlds achieve its ultimate aspiration with the help of the Prophet , the chosen one, Muhammad and his righteous house. Let it be placed in the shrine , in the doors of righteousness , which (the sultan) has founded at Sultaniyyah, as a true , legal, permanent and eternal endowment, on condition that it shall not be pawned nor inherited until God inherits the earth and those on it , and he is the best of inheritors, 'If anyone changes the bequest after hearing it, the guilt shall fall on those who make the change for God knows and hears all things' (Qur'an II, 181). (Fig 9)³⁰

Basing our calculations on the information given in the first and seventh volumes we can see that it took approximately one to one-and-a-half years to produce these seven parts. This sounds right because the script is a more elaborate variety than that in Qur'an A (Baghdad). If we assume that seven were completed in one year , this means that the Qur'an would have been copied out by around 710/1310-11. This is before the consecration of the mausoleum in 713 and before the death of the sultan in 1316. In the course of the Qur'an being copied , Öljaytü had undergone a number of spiritual transformations. In 709 he was converted to the Shi^Cite form of Islam and decided to transfer the remains of the Imams

^CAlī and Al-Husayn from Iraq to Sultaniyyah. Towards the end of his life he returned to orthodoxy. The endowment of the Qur'an must date from after that period since the waqfiyyah makes no mention of Öljaytū's Shi^Cism.

The identity of the calligrapher.

As we have mentioned earlier the identity of the calligrapher is unknown. Whoever he was, his exceptional ability is apparent. The manuscript is copied in alternate lines of a monumental script 14.1 that has the majesty of muhaggaq coupled with the freedom and fluidity of thulth. Each folio consists of three lines of gold script outlined (Ar. musha^Carah) in black with two lines of black outlined in gold intervening. Vocalisation follows the style of the script. The result of these efforts is perhaps the most wonderful example of monumental Qur'anic calligraphy in existence.

In his 'Qur'anic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination', Lings³³ the only scholar to have attributed the script to a calligrapher, mentions Muhammad bin Aybak as the author of the script. This is presumably on the basis of the inscription by Ibn Aybak in volume seven where he mentions his work as an illuminator. This seems to us unlikely. The Qur'an was begun in 706 and at that time Muhammad bin Aybak was still involved with illuminating Qur'an A (Baghdad). The last inscription by him in that manuscript is dated 707 and the last inscription by Ibn al-Suhrawardī, in volume twenty-six, 706. Thus Ibn Aybak cannot have completed the first Qur'an until 708 at the earliest and probably not until later. If the second Qur'an was finished in or around 710 there is simply no way by which Ibn Aybak could have completed the first Qur'an, copied

out all of the second one and have illuminated all of the first seven volumes by Dhu'l-Hijjah 710.

On the other hand it would have been quite possible for Ibn al-Suhrawardī to have done so. If he completed the copying of Qur'an A (Baghdad) by the autumn of 706, he could have finished the first volume of the second one by the end of 706. In view of the fact the Ibn al-Suhrawardī and Ibn Aybak seem to have been together working as a team it seems possible that having completed the first Qur'an-, which if it were being made for Sultan Ghāzān would have to have been continued at the instructions of the new ruler Öljaytū,-went on to work on the next manuscript for the latter.

The illuminators signature appears in tiny letters at the end of Topkapi Ms EH 243. It reads :

Illuminated by Muhammad bin Aybak in the City of Peace in Dhu'l-Hijjah in the year 710 of the Hijrah, thanking God, praised be He. (Fig 7 e)

14.2

It appears next to a second minute inscription by the calligrapher and is similar in wording to other inscriptions by him gives us no reason to doubt its authenticity.

14.3

The frontispieces being larger than those in Qur'an A (Baghdad) are conceived on a more grandiose scale in this manuscript, which for the rest of this study we shall refer to as Qur'an B.i (Baghdad). There are two basic types pattern employed in the central areas of each double frontispiece. Both have a centrifugal emphasis. The first is in a square panel with thulth inscriptions above and below.

Two of these patterns (1 and 7) are simply one which has been slightly altered. The enlarging of the central star in volume 7 and the bending of the sides of the crossed lozenge-shapes make the pattern of volume 1 , though at first glance they appear to be quite different. The second type which we see in volumes 20 and 21 is a derivation of one used in Qur'an A (Baghdad) but more developed. It consists of a distinctive self-contained geometric composition with overlapping diamonds, circles and irregular figures. Such compositions appear frequently in Iranian work from this time onwards , though are rarely , if ever, used in Mamluke work. Although it may appear that this type of composition was the invention of Muhammad bin Aybak's atelier, there are Iranian and late thirteenth century Anatolian Seljuk examples which show some similarity.

14.4-5

14.6-7

Interstices in all compositions are filled with palmettes, scrolls and ,in the case volume 20 petal shapes around a central bud. Around the square compositions are long panels with fine arabesque scrolls with polychrome leaves. These are a type that we have not seen before now.

The colouring of some of these frontispieces appears less successful than that of Qur'an A (Baghdad) : large areas of rather monotonous browns have a glaring bright red in the centre.

All compositions are surrounded by bands of gold strapwork and by chain-link edging. Borders tend to be more 'orthodox' than in the earlier manuscript , comprising alternating palmettes. The colour however, is identical and the same secondary pattern in chocolate brown runs through the palmettes.

In all of these frontispieces we notice motifs and details

that do not occur in the earlier Qur'an. We detect too a slight coarsening of the workmanship.

In this Qur'an both opening and closing pages of text are illuminated. Those at the beginning of the text follow closely the opening pages of the earlier manuscript. The verses are set on identically illuminated grounds while the panels above and below are composed in both of the ways referred to. There is at least one other type. In Juz' 7 there is a fine pointed hasp in the centre of the outer margins made up of a palmette and arabesque scrolls. The inscription panels have single-lobed cartouches with a quatrefoil at each end. The inscriptions themselves are in white thulth. 14.8 14.9

The illuminated closing pages have huge inscriptions in thulth above and below the text. Sometimes the upper and lower inscriptions are in illuminated panels and the text is left blank ; at other times the entire page is given a scroll background. In all volumes the text of the Qur'an on the opening and closing pages is written entirely in gold, unlike the other pages where it is combined with black script. 14.10

A detailed examination of the arabesque scrolls used as backgrounds to the text reveals several distinct types: 1) where leaves and blossoms are painted in clearly defined sections of gold, green and white (21) ; 2) a similar type but with several colours and a finer stem (7) ; 3) large , rather ungainly blossoms on wiry stems (1). 14.11 14.12 14.13

35

Ayas are marked by rosettes which use a system of letters.

Marginal ornaments are similar to those in the earlier manuscript except that the ashara medallion usually has a border of fine

'hairs'. Such medallions are quite common in Iranian Qur'ans , 14.14
 though they are not employed in the earlier Qur'an. Surah-head-
 ings are presented in almost exactly the same manner as in Qur'an
 A (Baghdad) , with the exception of the title which is usually in 14.15
riqā^c.

An appraisal of the style of Muhammad bin Aybak.

We can trace the work of Muhammad bin Aybak on the basis of his
 signed examples from 1302 until 1311. If all of the ajzā' in Qur'an
 B.i (Baghdad) are by him - and we have no reason to think otherwise-
 he would have completed his task in 1315 or 16. Thus we have some
 fifteen years of the painter's oeuvre at our disposal : more than
 any other Ilkhanid artist ; indeed more than any other fourteenth
 century Iraqi or Iranian painter.

In the course of that time several changes occur. New elements
 are introduced such as the quatrefoils and wiry polychrome scrolls
 of the opening pages of illumination. There is a movement away from
 the regular geometric composition based on multi-pointed stars ,
 with a decided centrifugal emphasis , to a much freer almost inde-
 pendent geometric composition. New details are introduced into the
 opening pages of text and into the marginal ornaments. The second
 Qur'an was a much more ambitious undertaking than the earlier one.
 It is larger - almost by half - and there is more illumination. But
 by and large it is less successful than the earlier manuscript which
 achieves an almost perfect calligraphic and thematic unity.

It seems unlikely that Ibn Aybak worked without assistance. In
 both Qur'ans we can see clear examples of parts that seem to be
 in different hands. What is very apparent however, is that Ibn
 Aybak , as master-illuminator kept tight control over the prod-

uction of the manuscripts. This implies a well-established painter with an organised workshop. It contrasts with the Baybars Qur'an in which there is no thematic unity between the parts by Sandal and those by Ibn Mubādir and suggests that in that instance we had two painters of virtually equal standing collaborating - though one may have had theoretical seniority.

By and large, there is a surprising lack of change in the work of Ibn Aybak. He was possessed of a wide repertoire of decorative and compositional motifs and an exceptionally well-developed colour sense. He stands out as one of the most brilliant painters of the century.

Was Ibn Aybak a product of Baghdad? We have no means of establishing this. But the probability is that he was. Nothing survives elsewhere from before or after the years 1302-15 that we can attribute to him. We must assume that his other work perished or remains to be discovered. If he were well-established in 1302 then we can presume that he had been working in Baghdad for at least ten years. It is curious therefore that none of the work attributed to Baghdad in the last two decades of the thirteenth century gives even the barest hint of illumination comparable to his.

In the course of this study we have examined the following 'Yāqūt' Qur'ans, which if authentic and illuminated contemporaneously, show the type of illumination prevalent in Baghdad from 1280 to 1300:

1. Ex-Sotheby Ms (14.7.76. lot 234) dated 681/1282³⁶
2. Iran-Bastan Museum Ms 4277 dated 685/1286³⁷
3. Bibliothèque Nationale Ms Arabe 6716 dated 688/1289³⁸
4. Topkapi Library Ms EH 74 dated 693/1294³⁹

Of these only the first and the last show any illumination which could be considered above average, though neither compare in magnificence with the work of Ibn Aybak.

2. Mosul : The Qur'an of Öljaytü.

In 706 , the same year as Sultan Öljaytü commissioned Qur'an B.i (Baghdad) he ordered another from an outstanding calligrapher of Mosul , whose work we know only from the Qur'an which he produced. This manuscript , which for the remainder of this study we shall call Qur'an B.ii (Mosul) was probably commissioned by the Ilkhan for his mausoleum like the contemporary Baghdad one.

This manuscript , as outstanding in its own way , as the two Baghdad Qur'ans has, like them been dispersed through many collections. The extant parts that we have been able to trace are as follows:

TIEM Ms 540. Juz' 2 , dated 706 / 1306-7.⁴⁰

Bayazit Library, Amasya Ms K 1052. Juz' 4 , dated 706 / 1306-7.

Chester Beatty Library Ms 1613. Part of Juz' 6.⁴¹

TIEM Ms 539. Juz' 10 , dated 706 / 1306-7

Topkapi Library Ms EH 232. Juz' 15 , dated 706 / 1306 -7.

TIEM Ms 541. Juz' 16 dated Rabi^c I 710 / July 1310.

Süleymaniye Library Ms Hacı Selim Aga K 22. Juz' 20.

TIEM Ms 540. Juz' 21, dated Rajab 710 / November 1310.

Süleymaniye Library Ms Hacı Selim Aga K 22. Juz' 22.

British Library Ms Or 4945. Juz' 25 , dated Sha^cbān 710 / December 1310.⁴²

Shah Ni^cmatallāh Library, Kirman Ms (?). Juz' 28, dated 710/1311.⁴³

The circumstances of commissioning.

The circumstances of commissioning are made clear in certificates appended to the beginning of each juz' which read :

The copying of this Noble Portion (Ar.rab^cah) was ordered, seeking the favour of God , by our lord the sultan, the greatest, Ilkhan , the exalted subjector of nations , sultan of the Arab and non-Arab sultans , king of the kings of the world, shadow of God on earth and His caliph over His subjects and domain, manifest of the eternal truth by proof and example , Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Öljaytū-Sultān, Muhammad bin al-Sultān al-Sa^cīd Arghūn Khān bin al-Sultān al-Sa^cīd Abāqā Khān bin Hūlakū (Hūlegü) Khān bin Tūlī (Tolui) Khān bin Jinkiz (Jengiz) Khān , may God preserve his kingdom for ever against the swings of fate and make it victorious unto the Day of Judgement , at the hands of his ministers , the greatest ones, the sultans of ministers of the world, regulators of his eternal kingdom , Khawājah Rashīd al-Haqq wa'l-Līn and Khawājah Sa^cd al-Haqq wa'l-Līn. (Fig 10)⁴⁴

The two ministers mentioned at the end are, of course, the famous Rashīd al-Dīn , historian and statesman and his co-partner in the Ilkhanid vizirate Sa^cd al-Dīn Sāvajī who were ruling jointly at this time. Such was their prominence at this time , we must assume, that they are mentioned along with the sultan. This is one of the few examples of this kind of association in a certificate of commissioning. There is no reason to believe that the two were in any way responsible for the commissioning of the manuscript.

The work of the calligrapher and artist.

a) The calligrapher : [°]Alī bin Muhammad al-Husaynī. The calligrapher was probably a well-known person in Mosul where the manuscript was copied , although all efforts to find any reference to him have met without success. We know nothing about him except for the fact that he produced this Qur'an for Öljaytū and must therefore have been held in high regard as a calligrapher and that he was , or claimed to be , a lineal descendent of the Caliph [°]Alī bin Abī Tālib. This latter is made clear by several elaborate colophons in which , like Shādhī bin Muhammad the Ayyūbid, he proudly incorporates his full genealogy. The colophons at the end of certain volumes give his full name as :

[°]Alī bin Muhammad bin Zayd bin Muhammad bin Zayd bin Muhammad bin Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Muhammad bin [°]Ubaydallāh bin [°]Alī bin [°]Ubayallāh bin [°]Alī bin [°]Ubaydallāh bin al-Husayn bin [°]Alī bin al-Husayn bin [°]Alī bin Abī Tālib ;

according to which he must have been a seventeenth grandson of the fourth Caliph. The choice of this man seems unconnected with Öljaytū's temporary espousal of Shi[°]ism , since his Shi[°]ite phase did not begin until 709 , when the Mosul Qur'an was almost complete.

The text of the Qur'an is copied out in thirty parts , each one measuring 57 x 40cm , five lines of script per page. It is in magnificent gold muhaggaq superbly proportioned , with vowels in black. The same colour is used to surround each letter of the text.

15.1

The colophons , all of which are dated , indicate that the calligrapher was a particularly fast worker. He completed half the manuscript in one year , which means that he must have been able to copy out a single juz' in less than a month , almost twice as

fast as Ibn al-Suhrawardī. It seems surprising but not impossible. What does seem strange is that the manuscript instead of being completed at the end of 707 , was not finished until 711. The explanation is found in volume 15 in the Topkapi Library and the following one in the TIEM. There is a gap of several years between the completion of part 15 , probably in the last month of 706 / June 1307 and resumption of work in Rabi^c I: 710/July 1310. How can we explain this gap ? The first reaction is that the calligrapher was called away to another commission. But this seems impossible. What could have taken precedence over a demand from the 'sultan of sultans' ! Could the first fifteen parts have been handed over to the painter ? If so what was to stop the calligrapher from continuing the manuscript until completion immediately ? In our opinion the only possible explanation is that the calligrapher , although he does not mention it , was also the illuminator and decided to copy out the first fifteen parts and then illuminate them , before continuing to copy out and illuminate the second half. This would mean that the Qur'an would have been finished in 1313.

b) The illumination: This manuscript contains the simplest illumination of all three Iraqi Qur'ans. Each āyah is marked by a medallion bearing the word 'āyah' in kufic , but there are no medallions in the text to mark the passage of each fifth and tenth verse as is usually the case.

Of the six frontispieces that we have been able to examine in the course of our researches , all except one consist of rectangular areas of repeat block-pattern and none have panels bearing

inscriptions. Two of the designs are identical : those in Juz' 2 15.2
and Juz' 15 are made up of eight star-polygons on each half of
the double frontispiece with interconnecting arms that in turn
form smaller star-polygons. In the centre of the larger ones
are circles with buds pointing inwards which join up with larger 15.3
leaves in the arms of the polygons. This type of secondary move-
ment under the main trellis is characteristic of the work in the
manuscript. In the frontispiece of Juz' 16 almost all the fillers
in the interstices link up under the main trellis. This latter 15.4
is composed of six-pointed star-shapes with straight and semi-
circular arms , separated by triangles with scalloped sides. This 15.5
is a splendid example of 'infinite pattern' : it has no true
centre and works on various levels with an exceptionally large
number of optical possibilities. The colour-scheme is simple
and unobtrusive.

Perhaps the best known of these frontispieces is the one in 15.6
Juz' 25 in the British Museum. It has been expertly analysed
by Lings and Safadi⁴⁵ and needs little comment except the following:
There is an interesting colour-change from one half to the other:
On the right-hand side page the blue hexagons are outlined in red;
on the opposite page the red hexagons are outlined in blue. On
each side a little extra touch has been given to the central
hexagon so that it stands out slightly. One point that the authors
of the Qur'an Exhibition catalogue do not comment upon is an
apparent error. On the right-hand half the border of gold strap-
work is three links deep in its widest parts , on the opposite
side only two links deep. This change was due to a recalculation
of the geometry since on the right-hand side it is evident that

there was a mistake in the initial drawing which left an awkward area at the top and bottom. The artist filled these in with motifs that bear no relation to the rest of the pattern.

In Juz' 16 the pattern consists of three rows of eight-lobed medallions on each half. These contain gold stars, the points of which become blossoms filling the lobes. The grounds of these medallions are alternatively red and blue and are surrounded by a curious border of either dark and light-blue triangles, or else similar ones in red. 15.7

The central medallion in contrast to the others contains a gold star-polygon, the points of which become elaborate leaves and palmettes. All medallions are surrounded by a band of scrollwork that loops under and over each one.

In total contrast, the frontispiece of Juz' 10, consists of a central star-polygon surrounded by multiple stars-of-david, one at the end of each arm. All of this fits into an oval which touches the vertical sides of the surrounding rectangle. At the top and bottom the remaining space is filled up with ovals bearing fleurs-de-lis at their ends. The corners of the rectangle are crossed and the resulting areas contain palmettes. The central circle lies on a bed of interlinking swastika-shapes. 15.8

All of these panels are surrounded by gold strapwork but in no case are there outer borders, as we find in the two Baghdad manuscripts.

The opening pages of text are of a simple type. Above and below are panels bearing inscriptions in white thulth over gold arabesque scrolls. These are contained in a cartouche which usually has circle, star-tile or other simple device at the end. These and the main panel 15.9

are surrounded by thick bands of a simple type of gold strapwork. Strapwork is also prominent on the surah-headings where the titles 15.10
, written in a manner similar to those on the opening pages of text, have borders made up of it. Simple pointed medallions are used at the end of panels , on the opening pages and throughout the text at the ends of the surah headings.

The final pages of these volumes are not illuminated , though often have a little mihrab which contains the colophon. At the 15.11
beginning of each however , the certificate of commissioning is quite elaborately done , also in the form of a mihrab surmounted 15.12
by a palmette border. Colour in the opening page , and indeed throughout the manuscript is virtually confined to the three primary colours , plus green and gold.

An appraisal of the style of ^CAlī bin Muhammad al-Husaynī.

Muhammad al-Husaynī was an adequate but by no means outstanding painter. There can have been little call for sumptuously illuminated manuscripts in Mosul since its hey-day under the short lived dynasty of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu'. From then Mosul had been a provincial town. It is quite surprising that a manuscript could still be illuminated as well as this Qur'an at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The repertoire of the artist was not great as we can see by his extensive use of simple gold strapwork , the repetition of compositions and the concentration on repeat block-pattern. Where the painter does try something a little more adventurous , we get the feeling that he wasnot quite sure of himself. He is quite capable of making errors as we have seen.

The relationship between Mamluke and Ilkhanid Qur'ans in this period, ie. 1301-1316

In the few studies that have dealt with Mamluke and Ilkhanid Qur'ans at the beginning of the fourteenth century the question of the connections between the two groups of manuscripts has always been referred to. That Ilkhanid illumination exerted some influence has never been doubted, though the precise nature of the influence has yet to be stated in detail. J.M. Rogers⁴⁶ who has been the most perceptive on the whole question of artistic relations between the Ilkhanids and the Mamlukes confines his remarks to the 1313 Qur'an of Öljaytū which was in Cairo by 1326 and merely tells us: 'it is of fundamental importance, leading to the illustration of a monumental series of Qur'ans.' For art historians the Öljaytū Qur'an seems to shine like a beacon. From the date of its appearance in Cairo Ilkhanid influence on manuscript illumination becomes almost an article of faith.

It is our belief, and we shall show, that the effect of the Öljaytū Qur'an has been greatly over-exaggerated. However, the question of Ilkhanid influence is not in dispute, providing that we take this to mean the influence of the centres of manuscript illumination in Iraq - Baghdad and possibly Mosul. This influence however occurs at least two decades before the appearance of the Öljaytū Qur'an in Cairo and is the result of Iraqi-trained craftsmen rather than the copying of manuscripts produced in Ilkhanid territory.

In discussing the work of Muhammad bin Mubādir we have noted on several occasions that both his compositional structures and details stand apart from the work of his Cairo contemporaries. The following

features have been remarked upon:

1. His use of rectangular blocks of repeat-pattern
2. The prominence of certain geometric figures like hexagons and octagons.
3. The use of borders all the way around each half of a double frontispiece instead of leaving the inner sides blank.
4. Unusual compositions.

1. Although repeat block-pattern does not occur in the surviving work of Ibn Aybak it is found extensively in the Qur'an executed in Mosul by ^cAlī al-Husaynī. One of his compositions (Juz' 16) 15.5 is quite close to the frontispieces of volumes 4 and 6 in the 1.9-10 Baybars Qur'an and employs star-shapes of the same type.
2. While hexagons and octagons are not common in the Baghdad and Mosul Qur'ans they are quite common in Ilkhanid work. There are several examples in the 1313 Hamadan Qur'an and in the Qur'an signed by Ibn al-Suhrawardī in the Chester Beatty Library, dated 1301 which if genuine must be from Baghdad
3. The complete encircling of each half of a double frontispiece by a border is entirely characteristic of the work of Ibn Aybak and occurs in all his known works. On the other hand there are no examples in Mamluke Qur'ans apart from the frontispieces illuminated by Ibn Mubādir.
4. Among the compositions used by Ibn Mubādir one in particular 1.11 stands out. This is that found in volume two which consists of a piece of startile-and-cross which has been 'exploded' and has hexagons inserted into the crosses and a larger hexagon embedded in the centre of the composition. In the frontispiece of Juz' 26 of Qur'an A (Baghdad) the central panel is so 13.5

strikingly similar that it is impossible not to see a connection. While it is true that the underlying pattern - star-tile-and- cross- was known in Cairo before the production of the Baybars Qur'an, the 'exploding' of the composition and the insertion of hexagons is an unusual and novel idea.⁴⁷ In all of the Qur'ans and related manuscripts that we have examined for this study we have come across no other examples apart from these two. In view of the other links with Baghdad and Mosul manuscripts , and in view of the fact that so much in the work of Ibn Mubādir seem foreign to Cairo, we are very much inclined to the view that Ibn Mubādir was an Iraqi-trained artist who had come to Cairo , perhaps after a period in Syria, to work for Baybars.

There are a number of other links that we can briefly point to suggesting connections at this stage between Iraq and the Mamluke sultanate.

In the Chester Beatty Library is a large single-volume Qur'an (Ms 1455)⁴⁸ . On each page there are three lines of gold muhaggaq separated by fourteen lines of naskh. This method of presentation is unknown in Mamluke Qur'ans but does occur in the 1301 Qur'an attributed to Ibn al-Suhrawardī. Marginal ornaments are for the most part in pink and blue , somewhat reminiscent of Ibn Aybak's colour scemes , while the large double certificate of commissioning is decorated in exactly the same manner as Qur'an B.ii (Mosul). The wording of the certificate is damaged and although it appears that the monarch who commissioned the manuscript may have been Öljaytū it does include the phrase :

nāsir al-dunyā wa'l-dīn [al-malik] al-nāsir

which rather suggests Al-Nāsir Muhammad. In addition , there is a

16.1

16.2

distinctive and rather unusual double frontispiece , the exact 16.3
equivalent of which is found in a manuscript in the National
Library, Cairo. This latter (Ms 507) was endowed to the Madrasat 16.4
al-Hanafiyyah by its founder Mahmūd bin Zengī in 562 /1167. One
may speculate whether this Qur'an may not have been made, in Syria
for Al-Nāṣir Muhammad by an Iraqi calligrapher/painter.

The second manuscript raises a whole host of questions that we
can not answer here. One of the 'Yāqūt' Qur'ans , that sold in
Sotheby's in 1976,⁴⁹ is illuminated throughout with 'tear-drop' arab- 17.1
esque scrolls that never occur in early fourteenth century manuscr-
ipts of unquestionable Iraqi provenance. The design of the frontis- 17.2
piece trellis also occurs in a later Egyptian manuscript (and as far 5.9
as we know , nowhere else). The gold alternating palmette border 17.3
decorated with 'tear-drop' motifs is identical to those found in
the work of Sandal.

We can interpret this information in various ways. The style
of decoration that we associate so readily with Sandal may have
originated in Baghdad at the end of the thirteenth century. We
can discount this. If it were so there would be at least some
echo of it - however slight - in later Baghdadi work. But there
is none , while there are examples of it in Egyptian Coptic
manuscripts at the end of the thirteenth century.⁵⁰ The entire
manuscript may be a Mamluke facsimile , copied from an original
- or presumed original-Yāqūt Qur'an in Cairo and illuminated in
the prevailing Mamluke manner. If so it is the only one we know
of. Nevertheless the possibility cannot be ruled out. The third
possibility is the one that seems the most likely to us. It was
customary whenever a patron who could afford it obtained a 'Yāqūt'

Qur'an , or similar manuscript by one of the 'sittah', to embellish it, redecorate it, or decorate it for the first time as there seem to have been Qur'ans around which were undecorated reputedly , or actually , by the great master. Indeed if he were producing them at the rate with which tradition credits him⁵¹, the majority of of those initially in circulation must have been undecorated. The ex-Sotheby manuscript is probably one of those which came to Cairo in the early years of the fourteenth century and was decorated by a member of the Sandal workshop. In later times this decoration was embellished by an Ottoman painter who illuminated the margins.

Summary.

During the years 1301 to 1316 Ilkhanid-controlled Baghdad and Mosul saw the appearance of a series of monumental Qur'ans , which in terms of size , format, and sheer splendour, appear to mark a new departure in manuscript production. As far as we can tell there was nothing to compare with them before the beginning of the fourteenth century.

These Qur'ans are associated with Sultan Öljaytū (1304-16), builder of one of the finest funeral edifices of Islam. His tomb at Sultaniyyah (1305 - 13) is rightly regarded as one of the most perfect examples of Iranian architecture. It was to this spot that one of the Qur'ans , B.i (Baghdad) was endowed : a fact that we know for certain thanks to waqfiyyahs appearing in two of the surviving ajzā'. It seems probable that both Qur'an B.ii (Mosul) and the 1313 Hamadan Qur'an , which was begun about the same time, were also destined for the royal mausoleum. It was the practise for the founders of mausolea to endow numbers of Qur'ans to libraries attached to their tombs. In his will the famous Rashīd al-Dīn gives details

of many Qur'ans deposited at his tomb in the Rab^c-i Rashīdī. We can be sure that Öljaytū did the same, though Qur'an B.i (Baghdad) is the only proof we have of that.

A similar Qur'an , A (Baghdad) , although often associated with Öljaytū was actually begun several years before that monarch succeeded his brother Ghāzān. It is not impossible that the manuscript was made for Öljaytū but seems to us more likely that the commissioner would have been Ghāzān, whose own mausoleum was being built at the same time. This assumes that the manuscript was continued after the latter's death. As far as we can tell it was the practise to pay in advance for work of this type.

The three manuscripts furnish useful information on the length of time taken to copy out and illuminate them , indicating that it involved around eight years from start to finish.

Qur'an A (Baghdad) is one of the few surviving manuscripts in the hand of Ibn al-Suhrawardī and part of that tiny group of genuine examples of work by the pupils of Yāqūt. About Ibn al-Suhrawardī and his colleagues we know little. In all probability the lives of these men were uneventful, with little for historians to record. Unlike the Syrian Ibn al-Wahīd , whose 'seamy side' is recounted with relish by the Mamluke biographers , the lives of six great masters of Iraq and Iran are passed over in silence. Almost nothing worthy of mention is recorded by the numerous historians of calligraphy.

We know even less about the master illuminator Muhammad bin Aybak despite the fact that we can trace his work in Baghdad over a period of fifteen years. Apart from the two Qur'ans which he illuminated

we have no other example of his work , although he must have been the leading illuminator of Baghdad in his day.

The three Qur'ans are by no means the only ones from Iraq and Iran at this time. There are several others , both multiple and single-volume copies. But , for the most part , these are isolated examples and give little information beyond a name , date and an example of calligraphy and illumination stylistically 'out of context'. We shall be examining the more important of these.

Links between Cairo and Iraq at this time are interesting , and we shall have more to say about this matter in Chapter 3. Despite the hostility between the Mongol and Mamluke empires there was considerable commercial exchange. We have little information on the movement of craftsmen but we have ample evidence that this did occur , from East to West at least. It seems to us quite probable that one of the painters involved in the Qur'an being illuminated for the emir Baybars in Cairo , was of Iraqi origin. Much of his work in that manuscript and elsewhere finds a close parallel in the Qur'ans produced in Mosul and Baghdad. Coupled to that is the fact that his work seems to stand rather apart from the mainstream of manuscript illumination in Cairo at this time (1304 -10). Not only craftsmen came to Cairo from Iraq: it seems most likely that manuscripts were also brought or sent. The 'Yāqūt' Qur'an of 1282 is illuminated for the most part in the recognisable style of Sandal , the famous Cairo painter. It seems probable that this manuscript appeared in Cairo unpainted and was illuminated by the Egyptian master or a member of his group, around 1300 - 1310.

The Baybars Qur'an stands out among Mamluke manuscripts at the beginning of the fourteenth century because of its size, multi-part format , monumental script and fine illumination. This manuscript seems to have been in some way an 'echo' of what was being done in Baghdad almost simultaneously. Why Baybars decided to assemble a rather disparate team of craftsmen to produce a manuscript of this type at this time is a very interesting question. It may perhaps be connected with the fact that the manuscript was destined for a sufi khānqāh , only the second ever to be founded in Cairo. Sufis were well-known for their interest in calligraphy. Ibn al-Suhrawardī was himself the grandson of a great sufi master. Could the idea of a Qur'an of this type been suggested to Baybars by someone familiar with the Qur'ans being produced in Baghdad : one of the future inhabitants of the khānqāh perhaps ?

Chapter Three : Iran in the same period.

From the years 1300 to 1316 a number of single and multiple-volume copies of the Qur'an survive which can be attributed, without question, to various cities in Iran. These manuscripts are of two distinct types. First, the 'royal' Qur'ans : large-format, multiple-volume copies, beautifully written and sumptuously illuminated produced for the sultan or members of his immediate circle. Secondly, single or multiple-volume manuscripts, none of which bears the name of a patron. The quality of this second group ranges from mediocre to excellent.¹

In this chapter we would like to deal with the manuscripts which form the first group. This is made up of two Qur'ans, the first copied for Öljaytü in Hamadan, and the second for the vizir Rashīd al-Dīn almost certainly in the Rab^c-i Rashīdī at Tabriz. Both are in the general tradition of the earlier A and B.i (Baghdad) and B.ii (Mosul) manuscripts, though the links between these and the latter are closer than the links existing between the Iraqi and Hamadan Qur'ans. The Hamadan manuscript is undoubtedly the best-known of all Ilkhanid Qur'ans and is the final manuscript known to have been commissioned by Öljaytü. For the remainder of this survey we shall refer to it as B.iii (Hamadan), while the Rashīd al-Dīn Qur'an we shall designate C (Tabriz).

1. Hamadan : the Qur'an of Öljaytü.²

The city of Hamadan or Hamadhan was one of the main centres of the province of Jibal and lay immediately south of Sultaniyyah. It was a thriving town until devastated by the Mongol invasion in the second decade of the thirteenth century. By the beginning of the following one it had recovered and is described by Mustawfī as a city some two leagues across.³ It was here that the famous Rashīd al-Dīn was

born.

Although we know little about the production of manuscripts in Hamadan , there is a well-known Qur'an , now in Philadelphia, whose colophon states that it was copied in Hamadan in the year 1164.⁴

The Qur'an produced there for Öljaytū in the first two decades of the fourteenth century is unique in that it is the only one of the five 'royal' Ilkhanid Qur'ans to have survived intact. Sometime soon after its completion it was sent, or taken, to Cairo where it became the property of a Mamluke emir. Thanks to this it survived the chaos and destruction which occurred in Iran at the final collapse of the Ilkanids and the subsequent invasion of Timur later in the fourteenth century. In the nineteenth century it was deposited in the Khedival Library and is now in the National Library , Cairo where it is numbered Ms 72.

It was extensively studied in the Exposition Persane of 1931 in Cairo, when its inscriptions were published and discussed. It has been exhibited several times in part since then , most recently in 1976 at the World of Islam Festival in London.

The mere fact of its having survived the destruction of the Qur'ans produced in Baghdad and Mosul, or endowed to the ill-chosen Ilkhanid capital of Sultaniyyah , would alone ensure the manuscript an important place in history. But in addition, an unusually significant role is attributed by many scholars to this manuscript after its appearance in Cairo around 1326.⁵

Much of the discussion around this manuscript has dealt with the text of the wagfiyyah or speculation on the route by which it came into the possession of its later Mamluke owner. Little has been said of the manuscript as a work of art , nor has its real or supposed

effect on contemporary Mamluke Qur'ans been properly evaluated. Nevertheless, it is the only Ilkhanid Qur'an whose existence in Cairo during the first half of the fourteenth century is attested by historical documentation.⁶

At the end of each juz' in the manuscript there appears to have been a roundel bearing a colophon which was overpainted probably when the Qur'an was brought to Cairo. Only the colophon on the final part is now visible,⁷ but this makes clear - beyond any doubt - that the copying 18.1 and illumination took place in Hamadan during the reign of Öljaytü and that the calligrapher, evidently a native of Hamadan, was also the illuminator.

The circumstances of commissioning.

The manuscript was commissioned by the Ilkhanid sultan : of that there can be little doubt. At the end of most parts, and occasionally in other areas, are elaborate inscriptions which comprise the certificates of commissioning. These vary somewhat from one juz' to another. The fully edited version of this text, published by Wiet in 1931 reads as follows:⁸

Thanks be to God, illuminator of the hearts of the World by the shining lights of the Qur'an, decorator of the affairs of the Two Worlds by the essence of the secrets of the Qur'an, enlightener of the breasts of the knowledgeable by the truths of the manifestation of the Qur'an, loosener of the tongues of the pious by the finesse of reciting the Qur'an. We bear witness that there is no god but God : a witness that corroborates the Qur'an, that Muhammad is His beloved, His servant and His messenger, who has received the surahs, āyahs and portions

of the Qur'an. May the praise of God be upon him and upon his pure house, extractors of the pearls of truth from the depths of the Qur'an. To incur the favour of God, the writing down of His highest and august Word has been ordered by the greatest sultan, lord of the destinies of nations, sultan of the sultans of the World, illumined by the light of God, illuminator of the secrets of God, glorify and magnify Him, enlivener of the rules of the Sunnah and obligation, shadow of God on Earth, Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn, aid of Islam and succour of the muslims, establisher of the unbreakable bond with God, bringer of justice to the oppressed, master of land and sea, [Al-Malik al-Nāsir] Muhammad, the most-favoured by God, the Majestic, the Eternal. May God prolong his kingdom and make the face of the Earth his domain under the law of the Prophet and his pure house and companions and the law of the Prophets and Messengers and well-prepared and rightly-guided Imams, the saints and asetics. (Fig. 11)

As the last juz' of the manuscript bears the date 713 / 1313 the commissioner must have been Öljaytū even though that name is not mentioned. The title of 'al-malik al-nāsir', given here is odd in so far as this was the throne-name of the regnant Mamluke sultan Muhammad bin Qalāun; a point which has given rise to the improbable speculation that the manuscript might have been made for him by an Iranian.⁹ In several of the inscriptions it appears quite unmistakable that this part of the text has been tampered with, replacing the words, 'Öljaytū-Sultān' or perhaps 'Öljaytū-Khudābandah'.¹⁰ We shall have more to say on this when dealing with the later history of the manuscript in Cairo. 18.2

It has been pointed out that there is an contrast between this manuscript and Qur'an B.ii (Mosul). The certificate of commissioning in the latter seems to emphasise the Mongol and generally anti-Islamic ancestors of Öljaytü, while that in the Hamadan manuscript appears to draw attention to the sultan's Shi^Cite affiliations. These however, are not quite so prominent as one is sometimes led to believe.¹¹ The Shi^Cite prayer often referred to occurs once only, in Juz' 28, though the 'rightly-guided and well-prepared Imams' are referred to at the end of each certificate. However, all of the Qur'ans -B.i,ii and iii-date from the sultan's Shi^Cite phase, 1309-15.

As far as the destination of the manuscript is concerned, we would suggest once again, that it was most probably commissioned for the tomb being built at Sultaniyyah. We know that both Ms B.i (Baghdad) and B.ii (Mosul) were begun in the same year of 1306, shortly after work on the tomb commenced. If the calligrapher/illuminator of the Hamadan manuscript worked as quickly as the producer of the Mosul Qur'an then it would have taken him two years to copy it and six to illuminate it. The colophon on the final part must have been written after the illumination was complete since it records the termination of the work ie., katabahu wa dhahhabahu. We would suggest that the calligrapher Al-Hamadhanī wrote out each part, taking approximately two years to complete his task. He then began the work of illumination and as he finished inserted the colophon recording the completion of each part, the final thirtieth section being completed in September 1313. Although the colophons are obliterated there is an inscription in Juz' 23 stating that it was completed in 1313. Thus he would have illustrated around eight parts each year, meaning that he began probably at the end of 1306 and took seven years to finish his task. If the Hamadan Qur'an was begun, as were the other

two, in 1306 and is of an overall general type, then it would seem to us that it and the others were all ordered for the same purpose: endowment to the mausoleum of the sultan. He was creating what was going to be the finest tomb ever built and wished to furnish it with the most wonderful Qur'ans that he could obtain, ordering them from the leading calligraphers and illuminators in various parts of the empire. This, in our opinion, is the simplest explanation for the creation of these three outstanding Qur'ans at approximately the same time in the life of Öljaytü.

The work of the calligrapher/artist ^CAbdallāh bin Muhammad al-Hamadhānī.

a) The calligraphy. About the calligrapher, whose full name is given as ^CAbdallāh bin Muhammad bin Mahmūd al-Hamadhānī, we know nothing other than the fact that he was an outstanding artist and a native of Hamadan. This much information is given in the colophons:

18.1

This Qur'an was written and illuminated in conformity with the order by the one who propagandises for His kingdom from the bottom of his heart, with complete sincerity, who aspires for the indulgence of the Eternal, the meanest of His slaves ^CAbdallāh bin Muhammad bin Mahmūd al-Hamadhānī, may God forgive him, in Jumadā I 713/September 1313 of the Hijrah of the Prophet, blessings be upon him, in the Abode of Orthodoxy Hamadan, God protect it from harm. (Fig. 12a)

To have been asked to produce a Qur'an for the sultan must indicate that he was a calligrapher and artist of considerable standing. As the man in question was a native of the city of Hamadan and produced

the manuscript there , this indicates a well-established atelier with the capacity to turn out high-quality manuscripts. We know little about whatever tradition may have existed in Hamadan, but we can say that in a great many respects the tradition to which ^cAbdallāh al-Hamadhānī belonged - as evidenced by his surviving work - was very different from that found in the West of Iran and Iraq.

The script is an exceptionally fine gold thulth-rayhān outlined 18.3 in black with blue vocalisation and the occasional use of red letters to assist in correct reading. The only orthographic peculiarity is the placing of three gold dots under the sīn . Sometimes these are in blue. Each page measures 56 x 41cm with five lines of script on all except the first. A definite attempt has been made to see that lines finish at exactly the same point where ever possible. Unlike most Qur'ans āyāt are not marked: only the tiny red letters indicate a halt or pause. These factors give the text the feeling of flowing along in unencumbered lines. What is even more unusual at this time is the surrounding of each line by a blue rectangle , as if it were a surah-heading. These are then surrounded in turn by a gold border and the outer edge by a further blue line. This appears to be one of the earliest examples of this technique which became so popular in Timurid Iran.¹² Every page is organised in exactly the same manner , giving the whole Qur'an an exceptional sense of unity. Surah-headings are in thulth in rectangles identical to those 18.4 used for the lines of text. The decoration of these is usually kept quite simple. This is also true of the ornaments at the ends of the headings and the marginal ornaments indicating the passage of each fifth and tenth verse.

The whole ethos of this manuscript is quite different from the two earlier Baghdadi ones, for example, wherein each page with its elaborately-conceived illumination is thought of almost as a 'virtuoso performance'; every one more spectacular than the last.

The script of this Qur'an is one of the earliest examples of a monumental rayhān, a type which became increasingly popular in the next century under the Timurids. It is not to be confused with the delicate rayhān-dagīq favoured by the 'Yāqūt' Qur'ans and is larger, with more of the quality of thulth than the excellent rayhān used in the Qur'ans of the 1320's and 30's associated with the name of Arghūn al-Kāmilī.¹³ It is of some interest, and perhaps not without significance, that each of the Qur'ans commissioned by Öljaytū should be in a different monumental script: B.i (Baghdad) in thulth, B.ii (Mosul) in muhaggaq and B.iii (Hamadan) in rayhān - almost as if deliberately specified.

b) The illumination. ^cAbdallāh al-Hamadhānī was also the illuminator of the manuscript. This dual role obviously assisted him greatly in carrying out his project. He was able to conceive the whole manuscript as a decorative unity from start to finish.

Great economy of both style and colour is evident in the opening illuminated pages of each part. Instead of the illuminated area taking up most of the page it is confined to a rectangle in the middle. The average size of the illuminated areas is 25 x 18cm, considerably less than the 56 x 41cm of the overall page. Most of the pages are without a border or inscriptions. All are quite devoid of strapwork, as indeed is the entire manuscript :- a surprising omission given the almost obligatory appearance of this

type of decoration.¹⁴ The white surface of the paper is often used as background , while the motifs are confined to simple arabesques and palmettes. Occasionally the order is reversed so that the ground is coloured and the motifs left blank. Colour is confined to blue, black , and gold. Only unobtrusive details are painted in any thing other than the above. Gold and blue are also used throughout the text of the Qur'an on every single page. The overall impression on anyone used to seeing manuscripts such as the earlier Baghdad Qur'ans must have been quite striking -but not necessarily favourable.

The designs of the opening pages of illumination fall into three broad types:

1. A square panel with star-polygon whose arms extend to the four corners. The interstices of the geometric trellis have palmettes which are single or interlinked. In some of the star-shaped areas is an interesting motif that we have also noted in Juz' 2 of Qur'an A (Baghdad) which consists of a whirl of foliage with stalks projecting into the five points of the star.¹⁵ This is one of the few filler motifs which is actually transmitted from one manuscript to another. The vast majority of filler motifs are improvised by the illuminator from a very limited repertoire of basic shapes , particularly the palmette , 'on the spot' as-it-were, using the basic shape as the nucleus. This type always has a rectangular panel above and below , which in several cases contains only decoration , though usually an inscription. This is always in thulth or riqā^c , never in kufic.¹⁶ 18.5
2. A rectangular panel of 'infinite' pattern usually of the repeat block-type with a vertical or occasionally diagonal axis. This

type accounts for the majority of designs in the manuscripts. If we 18.6
compare the thirty designs of this manuscript with those in the
other three Ilkhanid 'royal' Qur'ans , there is surprisingly little
repetition. Although the same principles are often used it is rare
to find a similar design. In fact there are no identical ones.

3. This type consists of independent compositions , rather like 18.7
the second type noted in Qur'an B.i¹⁷(Baghdad). These are few in number
- only three in the twenty-eight ajza' examined.

The fillers occupying the interstices of the trellises are in 18.8
gold, black, or blue silhouette. Those in white on a coloured ground
usually have highly articulated detail. The artist appears to have
been especially fond of using these latter on grounds of blue. Un-
like the other 'royal' manuscripts many of the larger regular geo-
metric shapes contain rosettes made up of multiple-palmettes whose 18.9
lower parts inter-connect to form a tightly organised fret. This
contrasts with the work of Muhammad bin Aybak where freely-flow-
ing arabesque scrolls may be used in similar circumstances , just
as we see in the style of Sandal.

In addition to the above-mentioned decorative motifs there are
also rosettes and an odd cross-shape (Juz' 3 and Juz' 18). 18.8,10

Most of the rectangular panels bear arabesque scrolls which look
similar to the work in the the interstices. There is also a palmette- 18.11
and-knot device as well as a rather large white blossom with coloured
centre on a thin wiry stem , somewhat after the fashion of those in
Ms B.i (Baghdad).¹⁸

The inscriptions which many of these panels contain are interest-
ing from a number of points. So far as we can tell from earlier and
contemporary manuscripts, inscriptions at the beginning of Qur'ans and

Qur'an sections consisted of specially-selected āyahs , often used several times in the same manuscript. Four of these inscriptions in the Hamadan manuscript are Qur'anic āyāt (XVI., Nahl ,97-8; 103; XVII, Banī Isrā'īl ,82 : LXI Saff 79-80) : the remainder are Prophetic hadīths. This may not be a new departure insofar as we know nothing about other earlier Qur'ans produced by the calligrapher Al-Hamadhānī, but this is the first time we have come across this feature in the fourteenth century.

The opening pages of text are perhaps the simplest of any fourteenth Qur'an. Each is divided into five panels with two narrow ones at the sides. In almost all cases decoration is confined to the upper and lower ones. The top right-hand panel always has the juz' number , others contain either āyāt or hadīths. There is usually a single medallion at the end of each panel and this is frequently unattached. Occasionally there is a true palmette at the ends of the panels , at others a pear-shaped medallion attached to the border. Circular medallions are often in the form of a delicate filigree of gold arabesque on blue. Borders and narrow vertical panels are usually undecorated but in the case of five ajzā' from among those examined (1,3,19,20,22) decoration did occur. This consisted of a succession of simple gold motifs - knots, scrolls, flowers , or else blue and white flowers on a black ground : the latter being an unusual combination at this time. The arbitrary choice of the ajzā' with decorated opening pages of text prompts the speculation that the manuscript may not be quite finished.

Marginal ornaments , which in the earlier Baghdad manuscripts became glorious works-of-art , exceptional in their variation and splendour , are here by comparison subdued and quiescent.

In all of the decoration there is a quite noticeable absence of

chinoiserie and the types of petalled borders that betray Chinese influence ¹⁹, such as we see in the two Baghdad Qur'ans.

Almost all parts end with the certificate of commissioning which 18.14 is written in circular or polylobed medallions in a square and spread over two facing pages. The location of the certificate differs from the Baghdadi and Mosul manuscripts, though not from the slightly later Tabriz Qur'an, C.

The colophon is written in a circle on the verso side of the of the certificate. A practise not followed in the earlier Qur'ans but, once again, found in the Tabriz copy. All of the colophons have been painted over, presumably at the time the certificates of commissioning were altered.

An appraisal of the style of ^cAbdallāh bin Muhammad al-Hamadhānī.

There can be little doubt that this painter was an outstanding artist. Given the conservatism of fourteenth century illuminators and calligraphers, his approach may seem almost revolutionary. The absence of bands of heavy gold strapwork, the extensive use of blue and the device of painting much of the decoration in silhouette, give the manuscript a delicate, almost ethereal quality, that is quite absent in the other Qur'ans commissioned by Öljaytū where a sense of barbaric splendour is the overwhelming impression conveyed.

The underlying principles of his opening compositions are however such as we have already seen in the work of the earlier Baghdad and Mosul artists.

Only two of the opening compositions have borders. These run all the way round the composition, after the manner of those in the 18.15 work of Muhammad bin Aybak. In each case - Juz' 19 and 20 - the borders .

are based on knots and tri-lobed leaves. It is interesting that several Ilkhanid Qur'ans dispense entirely with outer borders. In the Mosul Qur'an B.ii the same technique is adopted , so too does Ms 503 in Topkapi Library. The latter is a multi-part Qur'an dated 1310.

Within the body of the text, features which stand out are: first, the organisation of the pages into panels ; the absence of āyah divisions and the extreme economy of decoration. Unfortunately , as there are no other Qur'ans from Hamadan at this time it is not possible to say whether Al-Hamadhānī was introducing new and original concepts or simply following well-established formulae. All we can say is that many of the features noted in this exceptional manuscript are not detectable elsewhere.

The manuscript is also remarkable for its great degree of uniformity. It is difficult to find pages which stand out clearly as the work of anyone other than the main artist. Rogers who has had the opportunity to examine the manuscript in detail suggests that at least one other hand is detectable. He points out that the right-hand half of the opening composition in Juz' 23 is finer than the opposite one , indicating probably the work of an assistant.²⁰ The likelihood of the artist having one or more assistants , is of course considerable , and indeed to be expected. That being so it is even more remarkable that Al-Hamadhānī was able to exercise such close control that differences in style are virtually non-existent , and in quality of execution, only barely noticeable.

The subsequent history of the manuscript in Cairo.

We know nothing of what happened to the manuscript following its

completion in 1313. However in 726/1326 it was endowed to the newly-founded khānqāh of an important Mamluke emir. Each part of the manuscript was inscribed on that occasion with a waqfiyyah ²¹, the text of which was edited and published by Wiet :

The fortress of the muslims and the refuge of those devoting themselves to the Almighty , Abū Saʿīd Sayf al-Dīn Baktamur bin ʿAbdallāh al-Sāqī al-Malikī al-Nāsirī - may God make him profit by the August Qur'an - has endowed in perpetuity all of this Noble, ~~Venerated~~ and Magnificent Qur'an comprising thirty parts for all muslims , as a ~~true~~ and legal endowment for reading, consulting, copying and studying, and has placed it in the tomb known as his foundation in Lesser Qarāfah near to the enclosure of al-Malik al-Zāhir. He will be responsible for it during his lifetime and after him his descendants and their descendants. If one of them does not conduct himself properly , then the responsibility will pass to the most worthy. Should the line die out then responsibility will pass to the shaykh of the tomb and that will continue until God inherits the Earth and those upon it , and He is the best of inheritors. He has declared that the above-mentioned Qur'an should not be taken out of the tomb ever , except for repair. Woe to anyone who changes or alters these stipulations ! 'If anyone changes the bequest after hearing it, the guilt shall be on those who make the change. For God hears and knows all things ' (II Al-Baqarah , 181). The reward of the above-mentioned endower is in the hands of God - glorify and magnify Him - Who never fails to reward he who does good works. Dated [from 7 Jumādā I to 27 Jumādā II 726 / 1-21 April] ²² 1326. (Fig. 13)

It has been pointed out that one of the most interesting aspects of the waqfiyyah is that it specifically mentions that the Qur'an is endowed for the purpose of copying (naql)²³. But whether this is related to its outstanding beauty is not clear. Nevertheless, the specific mentioning of 'copying' in an endowment document is rare. Examination of waqfiyyāt from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries show that muslims were expected to benefit from 'reading' (qirā'ah) , 'reading-aloud' (tilāwah) but almost never from copying. We have come across only one other manuscript , Cairo 60 which refers to copying. In the waqfiyyah which is dated 1356 we read that muslims may benefit from 'intiqāl wa'l-kitābah', ie. copying and writing.²⁴ The manuscript in question is another fine Ilkhanid manuscript and it may be that the beauty of these was appreciated to the extent of urging copies to be made. We would suggest rather that the explanation is a purely technical one. Both manuscripts are in thirty parts : a format which was relatively uncommon , judging by the small numbers of Mamluke multi-part Qur'ans which have survived. It may well be that it was the format and layout of these manuscripts which were to be taken as models not their calligraphy and illumination.

Scholars who have examined the Qur'an have speculated on the provenance of the manuscript. Rogers , one of the most recent commentators, concludes that it was somehow spirited out of Iran possibly in the course of the various negotiations between the Mamlukes and Ilkhanids prior to 1326. He wonders how it came into the possession of Baktamur rather than the sultan himself.

In all previous discussions Baktamur remains a shadowy figure. To quote Rogers , writing in 1969 , ' we know nothing of Baktamur,

except that he was cup-bearer to Al-Nāṣir and that he was rich enough to endow a memorial foundation and provide it with various treasures'.²⁵ In fact we do know quite a lot about this man, who was a leading figure at the court of Al-Nāṣir and whose career and sudden demise at the hands of his sovereign is one of these tragedies, all too common in the annals of the Mamluke sultanate. Ibn Iyās, Maqrīzī as well as Ibn Hajar and Al-Safadī all furnish details of Baktamur's life and death and it is there that we can find the most probable explanation for his acquisition of the fine Hamadan Qur'an.

Abū Sa'īd Sayf al-Dīn Baktamur bin 'Abdallāh al-Sāqī was a mamluke of Baybars al-Jāshankīr. After the latter's death Baktamur became the property of Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad who made him his cup-bearer (sāqī). He advanced until he achieved one of the highest offices in the state, atābak al-jaysh, commander-in-chief. Baktamur became the close confidant of the sultan: no one else was ever as close. The two were always in each other's company and Al-Nāṣir often visited Baktamur to spend the night at his house. He acted as a restraining influence on the sultan and intervened on behalf of the sultan's subjects whenever he thought him about to commit some excess. The sultan was said to make no move without seeking the advice of Baktamur. The two eventually became related through marriage: the emir married the sultan's sister and Al-Nāṣir's son Ānūk married Baktamur's daughter.

Unfortunately the sultan came to believe that Baktamur was planning to poison him while they were making their way to Mecca where Al-Nāṣir intended to present a new door to the Ka'bah. On the way back he had both the emir and his son Ahmad murdered and buried by

the roadside. Their bodies were later exhumed and laid to rest in the mausoleum attached to the khānqāh²⁶ which Baktamur had built. These events occurred in 732 / 1331.

The foundation had been completed in 726 / 1326 and the khānqāh was inhabited by its sufi occupants in June of that year. It was in this year that the Hamadan Qur'an was endowed to the tomb/khānqāh. Its numerous treasures included , so we are told, carpets, copper vessels, books , Qur'ans (rab^cāt), inlaid brass lamps , enamelled glass ones , all of which were in the charge of the custodian.²⁷

Both Ibn Iyās and Maqrīzī tell us that the emir received gifts from numerous sources and that Al-Nāsir himself , as we would expect, gave many presents (which he took back after Baktamur's untimely end !). It would seem that the most likely explanation of the provenance of the Hamadan Qur'an is that it was given by Al-Nāsir as a gift to his favourite on the occasion of the opening of the latter's foundation.

When the sultan's own khānqāh was opened some years previously we know that the ruler of Hama sent him a present of books for it.²⁸ It would thus have been quite appropriate for Al-Nāsir to have made the emir a present of the beautiful Qur'an that was undoubtedly in his possession. It is far more likely that Al-Nāsir would have received the Qur'an as a gift from the Ilkhanid Abū Sa^oīd , probably in the course of the negotiations between the two in 724. It was after the Qur'an came into the hands of Al-Nāsir that the certificate of commissioning must have been altered. We know that Al-Nāsir did receive gifts from Abū Sa^oīd because the prince/historian Abu'l-Fidā' was a witness to the reception of the 724 embassy.²⁹ Unfortunately he does not mention the arrival of any books or Qur'ans , though these

may have been overlooked. There were other exchanges and it may be that the Qur'an was presented on some other occasion. In any case Qur'ans were always popular presents³⁰ and it would have been quite natural for the Ilkhanid ruler to have sent the Hamadan Qur'an which he had inherited to Al-Nāsir. The sultan then passed it on to Baktamur along with other gifts in 1326 for the new tomb/khāngāh. This, in our opinion, is the simplest and most obvious explanation.

The influence of the Hamadan Qur'an on Mamluke calligraphers and illuminators.

The influence of this Qur'an is usually considered to be ~~para-~~³¹ount. In the course of this study we shall be examining this question when dealing with later Mamluke Qur'ans. However, let us say at this point, that it is our opinion, after examining all the major manuscripts produced from 1326 onwards, that the influence of this Qur'an was minimal. In terms of calligraphy it had no influence at all. Rayhān was simply not a popular script with the Mamlukes, nor apart from one or two examples, was monumental script in gold. No Mamluke artist adopted the unusual division of the page, which must have seemed strange; nor, so far as we are aware are there any Mamluke Qur'ans written without āyah-markers. The delicate colour-schemes were quite foreign to Mamluke tastes as was the absence of heavy gold strap-work. Finally, the large-format thirty-part Qur'an was not a popular choice.

The only area where any possible influence can be detected is in the opening pages of illumination where there are certain para-

lles between the designs of these compositions and some in Mamluke Qur'ans. However, even this is questionable since some of the designs can be shown to have been part of the Mamluke painters' repertoire prior to 1326 - and even prior to 1313.³²

2. Tabriz : the Qur'an of the Vizir Rashīd al-Dīn.

The major, perhaps decisive, role of the extraordinary statesman Rashīd al-Dīn in stimulating the arts of the book has been known for a century or more. To perpetuate the survival of his literary works he had copies made in Arabic and Persian for dispatch to the main centres of the Ilkhanid domains.³³ This was done annually, but only a fraction of the copies produced for Rashīd have survived.

These manuscripts were made in the quarter established by the vizir at Tabriz called after him, the Rab^c-i Rashīdī, of which nothing remains. It was sacked after his death and again following the death of his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn in 1336. To the once thriving ateliers of the Rab^c-i Rashīdī we can attribute only two fragments of the minister's Jāmi^c al-Tawārīkh³⁴ and a copy of the Majmū^c ah Rashīdiyyah³⁵, a collection of tracts. The first two manuscripts are of enormous importance for the study of manuscript painting while the latter has some fine illumination which is signed by the painters on the opening pages.

The appearance of yet another manuscript commissioned by Rashīd is therefore of some importance. In the course of these researches we came upon part of a Qur'an made for the vizir towards the end of his career. It is kept in the Topkapi Library, Ms EH 248, and is mentioned in the catalogue of Arabic manuscripts, but the all-important.

certificate of commissioning was missed by Karatay when cataloguing the item : almost certainly because it is located at the end.

The manuscript consists of Juz' 26 , is in large format , 52 x 37cm (almost the same size as the Hamadan Qur'an) and is copied on fifty-four folios in a rather unusual script resembling the ṭhulṭh/rayḥān of the Hamadan manuscript. On the final folio the date is given : fī ghurraṭ Saḡar 715 / the beginning of April 1315. That is, at the height of Rashid's power , some sixteen months before the death of his master Öljaytü.

The circumstances of commissioning.

At the end of the juz' on the final opening there are two confronted poly-lobed medallions bearing the certificate of commissioning in Arabic. This reads as follows:

36

Copied for the well-built library of the servant, the lord, the greatest, the undulating sea, the light, the revealer of secrets of Truth and the Qur'an, divinely-guided exponent of inquiry and explanation, possessor of the hallowed soul, in whom all human qualities are enjoined, sun of the firmament of wisdom, pole of the heaven of knowledge, most brilliant and perfect of the first and the last, favoured with the grace of the Lord of the Two Worlds, predestined for vizir when even Adam was yet unformed, sultan of ministers and sages in the Two Worlds, Rashīd al-Ḥaqq wa'l-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn, Fadlallāh , son of lord, the master , the greatest, the late Imād al-Dawlah, Abu'l-Khayr , may God glorify his victories and increase his good fortune and may the suns of his glory blaze forth and shine etc. (Fig. 14)

Although historians differ over the exact name of Rashīd there can be no doubt that the person referred to is the great statesman/historian and that the manuscript is the only surviving example of a Qur'an, no doubt one of hundreds, commissioned by him.

The certificate makes clear that the Qur'an was made not for a mosque but for Rashīd's library (khizānah). This presumably was his library in the Rab^c-i Rashīdī, since as far as we know he had no other. Concerning this, or the part that held the Qur'ans, we have some information by no less a person than the minister himself. In Rashīd's will, the details of which have been published, he mentions the Qur'an collection in the Tabriz suburb which was housed near to his tomb. The text is as follows:³⁷

Two book-stores (bayt al-kutub) which I have built to the right and left of my tomb, containing one thousand copies of the Qur'an that I have deposited therein, I endow to the Rab^c-i Rashīdī. The details of these are as follows:

Those written in gold : 400

Those in the hand of Yāqūt : 10

Those in the hand of Ibn Muqlah : 2

Those in the hand of Ahmad (bin al-) Suhrawardī : 20³⁸

Those written by well-known calligraphers : 20

Those which are beautifully written : 548 (?) (Append. 2, i)

Rashīd had a great interest in collecting Qur'ans, probably for the use of students or pilgrims to his tomb. We would suggest that it was for this destination that the Topkapi Qur'an was made.

The work of the calligrapher and artist.

a) ^cAbdallāh bin Abi'l-Qāsim al-Rūdrāvarī and the calligraphy : The calligraphy , yet again, is the work of an excellent calligrapher about whom we have no information other than that furnished by the manuscript. The script is a fine thulth/rayhān in black with black vocalisation. There are five lines on each page and the name Muhammad , whenever it occurs , is written in a larger script. Although the letters are elegantly formed the pen appears to be just a little on the slender side for the size of the script. Each āyah is marked by a rosette bearing the word āyah. Every page is surrounded by a blue ~~and~~ gold border and the opening pages have each line in a rectangular panel , as in the Hamadan Qur'an. The certificate of commissioning has already been described. The two medallions containing it appear on facing pages totally devoid of decoration. 19.1 19.2

The colophon is on the final folio in a circle surrounded by a poly-lobed medallion and gives the calligrapher's name as follows:

(Written) at the hands of the meanest of God's creatures ^cAbdallāh bin Abi'l-Qāsim bin ^cAbdallāh al-Tuvī al-Rūdrāvarī , may God reform and forgive him ,(at the beginning)of Safar / April , sealed with grace and victory , in the year 715 / 1315 of the Hijrah , with Your mercy O Most Merciful! (Fig.14b)

We may assume that the two final words refer to the calligrapher's place of origin. 'Al-Rūdrāvarī' means ' of the district of Rūdrāvar' , or Rūdhra'var , or Rūdārūd³⁹ as it was alternatively called. 'Al-Tuvī' means 'of the town of Tuvī'⁴⁰ .(Not 'Al-Tīvī' as is written in the Topkapi catalogue⁴¹). Tuvī was a small town located within the district of

Rūdrāvar. From this we would conclude that the calligrapher had left the district of Rūdrāvar - otherwise why refer to it⁴² - and was working elsewhere.

Tuvī is only a short distance from the city of Hamadan. As the Rashīd al-Dīn manuscript is the only one of the 'royal' Ilkhanid manuscripts to employ a border around the page and the use of panels to divide the text on the opening pages of the juz', with the exception of the Hamadan Qur'an, it may well be that the calligrapher of the 1315 manuscript worked for a time in Hamadan. It seems improbable that a small town like Tuvī would have had a manuscript atelier of any significance.

However the decoration of the opening pages and the illumination throughout bear little relation to that of the Hamadan Qur'an and it is to that that we may now turn.

b) The illumination. There is no signature on the manuscript other than that of the calligrapher. Because of the addition of a border to each page and the layout of the opening pages we would suggest that the calligrapher was also the illuminator. Our reasoning being the use of this method in the Hamadan Qur'an and the origin and possible training of the calligrapher in that area of Iran.

Surah-headings are in white thulth in a cartouche over elaborate 19.1 gold arabesque scrolls. The cartouche is in a rectangular panel with a marginal medallion. The opening page of text consists of 19.3 five panels: three bearing āyat without illumination and two accompanying ones, above and below, containing inscriptions in gold kufic on a fine ground of scrolls. The inscriptions are in rectangles. At each end are elaborate strapwork squares. This motif is not found

in any other 'royal' Qur'an , but we do see it in a number of contemporary Ilkhanid manuscripts. Ms K 503 dated 1310 in Topkapi uses it , as does a Qur'an section in the Chester Beatty Library (uncatalogued) which dates from around the same time.

20.1

The central panels are surrounded by a blue border with a gold arabesque scroll running all the way round. In the margin , at the ends of the panels, are medallions with palmette borders.

The opening pages of illumination are perhaps the most interesting part of the manuscript. Each consists of a square panel bearing a block-repeat pattern made of star-tile and cross-shapes , blue and red with gold arabesque and palmette decoration. Above and below are inscriptions in white thulth. All panels are surrounded by gold strapwork and there is an outer narrow border of alternating palmettes , one with a brown and white interior , the other with a gold knot on an orange and brown ground. 19.4

In the course of these researches this is the only occasion where we have come across a frontispiece in which a pattern of the type used in the central area of each page is truncated at the top and bottom by panels. Qur'an illuminators , as far as we can see from the surviving manuscripts, normally used panels only with star-polygon designs or semi-independent geometric compositions. The only other instance of which we are aware in an Ilkhanid manuscript occurs in the Majma^Cah Rashīdiyyah in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Arabe 2324) made at the Rab^C-i Rashīdī. Given that the Topkapi Qur'an was commissioned by Rashīd al-Dīn and that the only other example of the opening frontispiece technique appears in another manuscript made for the vizir , we would suggest that the Qur'an was probably made at the Rab^C-i Rashīdī in Tabriz.

Any Qur'an made for Rashīd would naturally have been produced in the special Qur'an scriptorium in the Rab^c-i Rashīdī , the Dār al-Masāhif. The Vaqfnāmah (deed of endowment) drawn up by the great vizir before his death gives details of this establishment.⁴⁴ According to this, it was to produce each year a copy of the Qur'an and Ibn al-Athīr's work on hadīth , the Jāmi^c al-Usūl fī Ahādīth al-Rasūl for dispatch to various centres, where they were to be placed in the main mosque. They contained special prayers for the donor and for recital upon installation. The details of the Qur'ans are given as follows :

A Qur'an in thirty parts in elegant script, fully vocalised and suitable for any of the seven authorised readings, on large-size Baghdadī paper , illuminated to indicate each fifth and tenth āyah and the beginning of each āyah and bound in goatskin. (Append. 2, ii)

Although our manuscript was not made for dispatch to a location outside of the Rab^c-i Rashīdī , since the certificate of commissioning states that it was made for the minister's library, in its general appearance, particularly size, multi-part format, and quality of script it would seem to conform to the kind of Qur'ans being made in the Dār al-Masāhif.

Our conclusion therefore , is that this juz' is the work of a calligrapher who was quite probably responsible for the illumination; who came from a town close to Hamadan , perhaps received some training in that city where there was at least one thriving Qur'an atelier, and came later to the Rab^c-i Rashīdī where he made the 1315 Qur'an

as an employee at the Dār al-Masāhif.

Summary.

The production of large-format 'luxury' Qur'ans was by no means confined to Iraq. Manuscripts of a type similar to the Baghdad and Mosul Qur'ans were made in Hamadan and probably Tabriz. The former is perhaps the best-known of the fourteenth century. It was almost certainly made for the mausoleum of Sultan Öljaytü. Manuscripts B.i,ii and iii were, in our opinion, all part of the same grandiose project conceived by the Ilkhanid ruler to create the finest tomb ever seen and furnish it with splendid copies of the Qur'an.

The layout and decoration of the Hamadan manuscript are quite different from the other manuscripts made on this occasion, though in the absence of comparative material we are not able to say how much was the artist/calligrapher's contribution, and how much was due to local tradition.

By 1326 this manuscript had arrived in Cairo, most probably as gift from Abū Sa^cīd to Al-Nāsir Muhammad. We must presume that it was never endowed to the tomb at Sultaniyyah, though we cannot be certain. Upon its arrival in Cairo the certificate of endowment in each juz' was altered: the name of the Mongol ruler was replaced by that of the Mamluke one. At the same time the colophons were painted over. Shortly after receiving the manuscript Al-Nāsir Muhammad gave the Qur'an to his favourite, Baktamur.

The influence of this manuscript on later Mamluke Qur'an illumination is grossly exaggerated. If its appearance set it somewhat apart from contemporary Ilkhanid Qur'ans, it bore no relation to Mamluke

taste whatsoever.

It is an indication of the power and prestige of the vizir Rashīd al-Dīn that the only other Qur'an, apart from those made for the Ilkhanid rulers, of this sumptuous 'de-luxe' type, should have been produced for him. The solitary juz' of this manuscript to have survived has a number of technical features found only in the Hamadan Qur'an but its decoration has more in common with manuscripts produced in Iraq or Tabriz. The manuscript was almost certainly made in Tabriz at the workshop established by Rashīd for the production of Qur'ans.

Chapter Four : Egypt and Syria 1320-1356.

Prior to the year 1320 we are fortunate in having a number of important groups of Qur'ans available for study. This is true of both Egypt and the Ilkhanid areas of Iraq and Iran. These groups are of particular value because of the relatively extensive data they contain on locations, patrons, periods of work and relationships between craftsmen.

As we proceed into the fourteenth century documentary information, especially for Mamluke Qur'ans becomes much sparser. Between 1320 and 1345 only four Qur'ans give Cairo as their place of origin, though there are others which on various grounds can be attributed to both Cairo and Syria. There are no Qur'ans bearing the name of their illuminator between 1313 and the era of Sultan Sha^cbān some fifty years later. The position in Iran is rather better as there are several Qur'ans which give the names of calligraphers, illuminators, places of origin and important documentation.

In this chapter we wish to survey the period covering the second half of the reign of Al-Nāsir Muhammad and his shortlived successors down to the year 1356. It is an exceptionally difficult and obscure one, in which we are totally dependent upon a small number of inadequately documented Qur'ans in our efforts to chart the progress of Qur'anic calligraphy and illumination in Egypt and Syria. We shall deal with these manuscripts chronologically.

1. The work of Ahmad al-Mutatabbib and the end of the Sandal tradition.

¹
Ms 81 in the National Library, Cairo, was first published about one hundred years ago and is of great significance since it provides an

exceptionally accurate landmark in the history of Mamluke Qur'an production.

We have no information on the circumstances of commissioning. No patron's name is given although there is a very full colophon plus an interesting appendix added by the scribe at the end. The colophon reads as follows :

This blessed Qur'an was completed by the grace of God and His aid. May God's blessing be on our lord Muḥammad and his house and companions by the slave in need of God's mercy , exalted be He, Ahmad bin Muḥammad bin Kamāl bin Yahyā al-Anṣarī al-Mutatabbib , in the city of Cairo the victorious, may God protect it in the blessed month of Shabān 734 / April 1334. May God have mercy on its scribe, its reader and all muslims , O Lord of the Two Worlds, (Fig 15)

The manuscript is actually one of the very few Mamluke Qur'ans which give the name of the city in which they were produced. It also the first to mention Cairo. Nothing is known about the calligrapher, other than that he produced a number of manuscripts in Cairo in the third decade of the fourteenth century. His nisbah 'al-mutatabbib'² which may be translated as 'the doctor', 'amateur physician' or even 'quack' implies some medical background. Curiously one of the six pupils of Yāqūt had the same nisbah.³

If the manuscript stood in isolation it would still be important because of the completeness of the colophon. However it can be associated with four others , all in the hand of the same scribe. In fact these manuscripts form one of the largest groups of Qur'ans that can be attributed to a single scribe.

1. Cairo, National Library Ms 184.⁴ Complete single-volume Qur'an dated 731 / 1331.

2. Cairo, National Library Ms 714. Complete single-volume Qur'an dated 732 / 1332.⁵

3. Ambrosian Library Ms LXVII. Part Two of the Qānūn fi'l-Tibb of Ibn Sina.

4. Chester Beatty Library, Ms 1476.⁶ Juz' 27 of a Qur'an.

Cairo National Library Ms 81.

a) The calligraphy : The text is written out in a competent , though by no means outstanding muhaggaq , eleven lines to the page , on 21.1 380 folios measuring some 51 x 36cm. The size is considerably larger than the single-volume Qur'ans produced during the first two decades of the fourteenth century in Cairo. Text and vocalisation are in black throughout , including that on the opening and closing pages. However the calligrapher has used an elaborate multi-coloured reading notation which he explains in an appendix of four folios⁷ . Such appendices⁸ are occasionally found in Mamluke Qur'ans. So far as we know⁹ this is the earliest recorded Mamluke example.

b) The illumination: There are five areas of illumination in the manuscript - the opening and closing double-pages; the opening and closing pages of text ; the surah-headings. Opening illumination¹⁰ comprises a square panel with rectangular ones above and below. There is a surrounding border of alternating palmettes which jut out into the centre of the outer vertical margins.

The main panel bears a twelve-armed star-polygon with a white kufic inscription on a ground of gold 'tear-drop' scrolls on blue. There is a outer ring of irregularly-shaped hexagons. The entire scheme repeats in the four corners. The hexagons fit together in such a way as to make a square with a four-armed star at the centre. A certain amount of optical illusion is involved but the squares are quite distinct. The larger hexagons contain fillers which are very similar to those employed in the Sandal/Aydughdī compositions, though rather more simplified. They appear on a blue ground with a white treble-dot motif, or on a finely-hatched ground. The 'tear-drops' which occur throughout the composition in orange and brown are similar to those used in the Sandal style.

21.2

The kufic inscriptions in panels above and below the main one are painted over scrolls similar to those in the work of the earlier Cairo painters, though the oval cartouche does not appear until about 1320 and is not found in manuscripts illuminated by Sandal and his followers. However, the outer border painted over a fine hatched ground and the horizontal projections into the margins are entirely typical of Sandal and and Aydughdī.

The standard of painting in this composition is inferior to the exquisite work of the Sandal group, nevertheless it is clear that much of detail is in direct line of descent. It has been suggested that the influence of the 1313 Hamadan Qur'an is visible in the work of Ahmad al-Mutatabbīb¹¹. No such influence is detectable in these opening pages. We should remember that the last Qur'an to display the mark of Sandal was painted only four years prior to this.

The final illuminated pages are in many ways of much greater interest on the question of links with other manuscripts. The

21.3

overall design of these pages follows that of the opening ones. But there is no projection of the border into the margin and the central panel contains a different composition. The latter consists of an eight-armed star-polygon with surrounding octagons interspersed with elongated six-pointed stars. According to the 1969 Cairo Millenary Catalogue : 'the folliate filling of the central square would seem to be inspired by the Oljeytu Qur'an'¹² (Ms B.iii Hamadan) and the composition is reproduced alongside that of Juz' 23 of that manuscript , which examination shows to have the closest resemblance of the thirty opening pages of illumination in the 1313 Qur'an. However this resemblance is quite superficial, probably coincidental, and certainly not the result of the same principles. On the other hand the identical composition is used in the 1282 Yāqūt Qur'an which 17.2 we have suggested was illuminated in Cairo by a member of the Sandal group.¹³ Furthermore the Qur'anic āyat used in the panels above and below are same ones favoured by the Sandal and Aydughdī Qur'ans , ie XLI Fussilat 41-2.

Opening and closing pages of text consist of five lines of script 21.4 each in rectangular panels. Āyahs are marked by distinctive rosettes three red and three blue petals inside a whirling petal border in gold. The script on these pages is written over arabesque scrolls which seem to occur here for the first time. They are basically of the type found in the work of Sandal and Aydughdī but painted in a 'smudge' technique consisting of a light wash surrounding a much darker core.¹⁴

In the margins are hasps made up of palmettes ; a feature which is absent from the Sandal manuscripts but is found in Ilkhanid work, eg. Qur'an A (Baghdad) and in contemporary Mamluke Qur'ans such as

TIEM Ms 434.¹⁵

Surah-headings consist of white kufic inscriptions on scrolls 21.5 with 'tear-drop' decoration in long thin rectangular panels with a circular medallion in the margin. It is headings of this type that appear in the 1282 Yāqūt Qur'an. There are no marginal symbols to mark the passage of the āyahs but each fifth āyah in the text is marked by a small pear-shaped design.

This manuscript bears no illuminator's signature; nor does the calligrapher claim any responsibility for the illumination. However all of the manuscripts copied by Ahmad al-Mutatabbib are illuminated in the same distinctive post-Sandal style. Although it was common at the beginning of the century for illuminators to refer to their work in later years this was no longer the case. Explanation of manuscripts like Cairo Ms 81 and related works is that either two people were involved, but the calligrapher, being the more-important, alone signed the manuscript; or that the calligrapher and illuminator were often one and the same, but felt it unnecessary - for reasons we do not understand - to refer to his work on the illumination. In the absence of evidence to the contrary we feel justified in saying that Ahmad al-Mutatabbib was the illuminator of all manuscripts signed by him.

Other work by Ahmad al-Mutatabbib.

a) Cairo, National Library Ms 714: The initial pages of this manuscript are missing. The final ones are organised along lines similar to the 22.1 illuminated pages of Cairo Ms 81. The central area, instead of having a star-polygon occupying most of the space, has a small central motif of this type surrounded by four octagons with adjoining five-pointed stars.¹⁶ This design is quite a common one: there are several Iranian

Iraqi and later fifteenth century Mamluke Qur'ans. Its first appearance in the fourteenth century in is Qur'an A (Baghdad).¹⁷

15.4

The fillers of this composition are almost identical to those in the slightly later Cairo Ms 81. The entire decoration of the central motif is the same as that of the final composition of that manuscript. Almost all of the features in Ms 714 are paralleled in Ms 81. If we examine the compositions of this painter we can see that he follows the same formulae time and time again. He is very fond of the technique of linking up fillers to form a secondary pattern under the main trellis, for example.

The illuminated pages of text in each manuscript follow the same method of presentation, except that the marginal hasp in the earlier manuscript consists of a circle bearing a palmette inside a larger semi-circle. Surah-headings are identical to those in Cairo Ms 81.

b) Chester Beatty Library Ms 1476: This unsigned juz' from a thirty-part Qur'an is in the same style as the earlier two. The opening illumination of the juz' uses a principle which we have not seen since the Qur'ans illuminated by Muhammad bin al-Mubādir : that of inserting an octagon into another pattern with which it has no relation. The surrounding geometric work and accompanying fillers however, bear the unmistakable mark of Ahmad al-Mutatabbib. The opening pages of text are written over a ground of scrolls surrounded by a plain gold border, in a manner rather reminiscent of the opening pages of the Baybars Qur'an. No inscriptions are used in either manuscript, which contrasts with Qur'an B.iii (Hamadan) for example where inscriptions of some kind are always used on the opening pages of text.

23.1

Khamsa and ^Cashara signs are used in the margin of this manuscript. Both resemble closely similar ones in the work of Sandal. The ^Cashara is identical : the khamsa almost so, apart from the kufic inscription being replaced by a blossom.

An appraisal of the work of Ahmad al-Mutatabbib.

Ahmad al-Mutatabbib was a purely Mamluke painter. Despite suggestions to the contrary little or no influence of Qur'an B.iii(Hamadan) appears in his work. The final pages of Cairo Ms 81 have been cited as evidence but this is not convincing , particularly in view of the fact that the design of this illuminated area is identical to the frontispiece of a Yāqūt Qur'an that was almost certainly illuminated in Cairo.

His work has numerous links with the manuscripts illuminated by Sandal and Aūdughdī and we can presume that he was trained in the thirteen-twenties when there were manuscripts around produced by the Sandal group of illuminators. The work of Sandal and his pupils was clearly the model for much of the later painter's efforts. There is an obvious coarseness in his work and a decline in some of the pigment used. Blue was of an inferior type and in many instances has faded : something that never occurred in the manuscripts of Sandal and Aūdughdī. There is also an increase in the size of the Qur'ans produced. Several of Ahmad al-Mutatabbib's are almost twice the size of most Qur'ans made in the first two decades of the fourteenth century. We can not be absolutely certain that he was the illuminator of the manuscripts that bear his name as scribe , but there are strong grounds for believing this. If so he was probably not as interested in illumination as in calligraphy. But he was not an outstanding practitioner of that art. In fact much of his effort in Cairo Ms 81

went into the elaboration of the reading notation : a system that he proudly explains in a long appendix. What we see in the work of this man is the tail-end of a formerly exquisite tradition. This is coupled with the appearance of a much larger type of Qur'an for which the style of Sandal and Aydughdī was not really designed.

Two related manuscripts.

There are a number of other manuscripts that on stylistic grounds we can associate with the work of Ahmad al-Mutatabbib. The most important, and the ones that we wish to discuss are :

1. Topkapi Library Ms 138-M¹⁸5. Complete single-volume Qur'an dated 741 / 1341.

2. Victoria and Albert Museum Ms Bute 259.¹⁹ Complete single-volume Qur'an dated 746 / 1345-6

Each of these manuscripts represents a different aspect of the post-Sandal style. The first is a fine large Qur'an consisting of 234 folios (48 x 37cm) with thirteen lines per page of magnificent Mamluke naskh . This is in gold outlined in black (musha^oarah) and with the 24.1 eyes of the letters filled in in black. It is exactly the same type of script as that used by Shādhi bin Muhammad in the Qur'an of 1313 but much more polished. The manuscript is signed by the calligrapher: Ahmad bin Abī Ibrāhīm bin Muhammad al-Qurashī al-Kātib al-Dimashqī²⁰ and dated Shawwāl 741 / March 1341. The colophon is all the information available to us concerning the history of the manuscript. However it is not without interest that the name of the calligrapher indicates

some connection with Syria and that both this manuscript and that of Shādhī the Ayyubid , with Syrian ancestry, employ exactly the same form of script. We shall return to this shortly when dealing with another Qur'an in a golden naskh which has links with Damascus and is today in the Bastan Museum, Tehrān.

Another possible link with Syria occurs on the opening pages of text where Al-Fātihah and the beginning of Al-Baqarah are written in the same way as any other surah in the manuscript. We may recall that Ms 447 in the TIEM , dated 1314 illuminated by ^c Abdallah al-Halabī uses precisely the same method. When discussing that manuscript we suggested a probable connection with Syria.

In addition to these features we can note a number of others linking the manuscript to the work of Ahmad al-Mutatabbib and back through him to Sandal. The fine opening pages of illumination follow the same style as we find in Cairo Ms 81 , except that the rendering of the work is of a higher calibre. The design of the central square panel is not known to us elsewhere , but it does follow the principle that we see in the 1332 Qur'an of Al- Mutatabbib where a central motif is surrounded by four others: in this case star-polygons around a hexagon. The fillers in the geometric trellis include motifs painted using the same 'smudge' technique employed so extensively by Al-Mutatabbib. Many of the features that this manuscript has in common with Cairo mss 81 and 714 are those that we see first in the work of Sandal, and which it is un-necessary to re-elaborate upon. One point that should be made however, is that there a number of features which we see here for the first time , such as the cartouches on the final pages of text which consist of two circles joined by an oval. This marks the first step in a development

which reached its most elaborate stage in the thirteen-seventies. Marginal ornaments, although essentially of the old Sandal type are surrounded by multiple palmettes in the beginning of a technique that came to fruition later.

The second manuscript dates from only five years later but represents the last stage of the Sandal tradition as transmitted through Ahmad al-Mutatabbib. It is the work of a mediocre painter : but one whose lack of talent is made for by excessive enthusiasm and a certain amount of inventiveness. There is a great deal of combining disparate elements and introducing extra pages of illumination. In this Qur'an decorative detail is further debased and there is much greater use of gold , the overall impression being one of sumptuousness without finesse. 25.1

The calligrapher and possible illuminator was Asbughāy bin Turāy al-Sayfī (min)²¹ Arghūn Shāh Ustādār al-Malikī.²² Arghūn Shāh was for a time Ustādār after the death of Al-Nāsir in 1341. His full name was Sayf al-Dīn Arghūn Shāh al-Malikī al-Nāsirī and Asbughāy must have been one of his mamlukes. He was originally a mamluke of Al-Nāsir Muhammad. Under Al-Muzaffar Hājji (1346-7) he became Ustādār and in 747 / 1346-7 was appointed governor of Safad. He spent the remainder of his career in Syria, becoming vice-regent of the province in the following year. He was murdered in 750 / 1349. It is to him that the famous 'Qur'an of Arghūn Shāh', Ms 54 in the National Library Cairo is sometimes (wrongly) attributed.²³

At the time the Bute manuscript was produced Arghūn Shāh must still have been in Egypt so it is to Cairo that we should attribute it rather than Syria.

2. The Qur'an of Ahmad bin al-Muhsinī and the beginnings of the
'classic' tradition.

By the thirteen-forties the Sandal tradition had undergone both transformation and decline. Almost simultaneously the beginnings of the 'classic' tradition of Qur'an calligraphy and illumination that blossomed forth at the time of Sultan Shah^o bān (1363 - 76) was making an appearance. One manuscript in particular seems to herald, in superb quality and style if not in size, the great Qur'ans of the thirteen sixties and early 'seventies.

It is today in the Iran-Bastan Museum, No 2061,²⁴ and on the two occasions²⁵ that it has been exhibited has been described on on no very good authority, as Iranian.

At this point a brief resumé of the Qur'ans known history will be appropriate. It was endowed to the Safavid shrine at Ardabil in the 946/1539 by Prince Bahram (d. 957 / 1550)²⁶ a son of Shah Isma^oīl (1501 - 24). There is a full waqfiyyah on the colophon page to this effect. The manuscript bears a fine Safavid binding stating it to have been made for the library of Shah Isma^oīl.²⁷ The magnificent inscription which gives this information refers, of course, to the binding alone, (Fig 16a). The manuscript is much earlier. On the final page, below the colophon, is 'ex-libris' of Sultan Qayt-Bay (1469 - 95), (Fig 16b). The manuscript thus came to Iran from Egypt during or after the reign of Qayt-Bay presumably as a gift. However as Qayt-Bay died five years before Isma^oīl came to the throne it is more like that the Qur'an was sent by his successor Sultan Qānsūh, whom it is known exchanged presents with the Safavid monarch.²⁸

The years prior to the reign of Qayt-Bay are a blank , but the manuscript was copied in the year 739 / 1338-9 towards the end of the rule of Al-Nāsir Muhammad by a scribe whose name is given as Ahmad bin al-Muhsinī.²⁹

Although the colophon occurs in a circular medallion on the final page as we find in some Ilkhanid manuscripts , illumination and script show the manuscript to be of Mamluke not Iranian origin.

a) Script : The manuscript is on 373 folios measuring 39 x 29cm. 26.1
Oddly for a Qur'an, there are twelve lines per page : one would expect eleven or thirteen but not an even number. Bayani in his³⁰ description of this manuscript calls the script 'rayhān-mutavassat' or 'medium rayhān'. However it has little in common with any of the varieties of rayhān and resembles very closely the high-quality Mamluke naskh that we have seen in the work of Shādhī bin Muhammad and Ahmad al-Dimashqī. In all the examples gold naskh is finely outlined , the eyes of the letters being filled in with blue . As in the case of all naskh of this type , including the earliest Mamluke example of 1307³¹ , qāf , nūn, sīn etc have deep full-bodied curves below the line. In the course of our researches we have come across no Iranian examples of this type.

b) Illumination: The manuscript opens with a double frontispiece 26.2
which combines great beauty with perfect execution and rigid control. In the central panel is a single star-polygon the nucleus of which is a mesh. The arms of the figure are filled with single gold palm-ettes tipped with a black and gold spear-head. In the four corners of the panel are green , white and blue lotuses . Around this panel

are gold blossoms on a gold ground, the floral elements outlined in black. The same technique is employed in the outer area where all panels on the page are encompassed. The blossoms in this case are lotuses of a decidedly chinese type. Between the central panel and this border is a band of rare white strapwork.³² 26.3

At the top and bottom are oblong panels with inscriptions in gold kufic , which we shall examine shortly. Under the inscriptions are fine white arabesque scrolls on a blue ground, the whole being contained in single-lobed cartouches. The final outer border is composed of unusual alternating palmettes. One is made up of two palmettes , one above the other. The lower one has a black background ; the upper a green one. The second is within a large shield-shape on a gold ground. Much of this detail occurs in the Sultan Sha^Cbān Qur'ans. When we come to deal with those manuscripts we shall refer again to the Bastan Qur'an.

These opening double pages are the prelude to a manuscript which is of great art-historical interest :

1. Apart from a Qur'an in the Al-Azhar library³³ it contains the earliest Mamluke example of full chinoiserie.
2. It is the first example of the single star-polygon composition with web or mesh interior which became so popular in the Sha^Cbān period.
3. It is the earliest-known example of a gold-chinoiserie-on-gold border in a Mamluke Qur'an
4. It is the earliest example of fully-developed strapwork with coloured squares in a Mamluke Qur'an.³⁴
5. It marks the appearance of a new type of decorative kufic.

1. The earliest example of chinoiserie in Mamluke art is found on the kursī of Al-Nāsir Muhammad³⁵ which is dated 728 / 1327-8. Some significance is attached to the fact that this co-incides roughly with the appearance of the Hamadan Qur'an in Cairo.³⁶ However, chinoiserie elements in that manuscript are by no means as prominent as one is often led to believe. For example, lotuses do occur in Juz' 19 and 20 but peony blossoms do not appear anywhere in the Qur'an.³⁷

The lotus blossoms in the Bastan Qur'an are gold or coloured in in blue, white and green. In some of the medallions at the ends of surah-headings are fine multi-petalled peonies.

2. The first Mamluke examples of the geometric frontispiece in the form of a star-polygon occurs in the Qur'an of Baybars al-Jāshankīr.³⁸ These are all the work of Sandal and are quite loose in composition and execution. There is a lack of geometricity at their hearts. The multi-pointed stars at their centres are always filled with free-flowing arabesque scrolls, composed to fill the requisite space according to the whim of the painter and not according to the 'logic' of the total pattern. Furthermore there are several different types of fillers and grounds. These features occur in both the work of Sandal's pupil and in that of Ahmad al-Mutatabbib.

In only one earlier Mamluke Qur'an do geometric elements penetrate right to the nucleus of the trellis: in TIEM Ms 447 dated 1314, which we have suggested has some connection with Syria. In the Hamadan Qur'an we do find the nuclei of compositions formed by conjoined palmettes which mesh at the centre to form a tight web,³⁹ Whether there is any connection is unclear.

3. Gold decoration on a gold ground seems to have been a shortlived phenomenon , although there are examples in earlier kufic Qur'ans.

In the Bastan manuscript this takes the form of a band of semi-naturalistic chinoiserie running around the main composition. Hither⁴¹ to the best known example of this has been Cairo Ms 8 dated 1356, perhaps commissioned by Sultan Hasan. But there is also a related Qur'an Cairo Ms 7⁴² which uses exactly the detail on the frontispiece. The latter dates from around 1369.

4. Strapwork is perhaps the single most constant feature of Mamluke Qur'an illumination. It is not a single uniform type , though we can trace certain patterns over several manuscripts. Strapwork is highly complex though with one solitary exception it is always plain and never includes coloured squares before 1339. The exception is in the Baybars Qur'an where some of the work of Muhammad bin Mubadir exhibits this feature. In the opening and closing pages of text of the Bastan Qur'an orange squares are inserted into the bands of strapwork.

5. Two varieties of kufic are used. The essential difference between them is the shape of the alif White kufic lacks the projecting spike that it has in the gold variety. In addition to this the white kufic is narrower and more slender. Only gold kufic has diacriticals. In both types the final strokes of qāf, sīn, nūn etc are exaggerated to swell at the tip.

Kufic of the earlier part of the century is heavy , bold and generally free from distortion , though kufic inscriptions are always individualistic - no two artists produce them in exactly

the same way. They are therefore a very useful method of identifying artists. In the period of Sultan Sha^cbān kufic inscriptions become extremely idiosyncratic , often almost 'baroque' in appearance , with the tips of letters swollen into bulbous projections and sometimes done in the shape of hands or feet. The inscriptions in the Bastan manuscript show the beginnings of this distortion and form a half-way stage between the two types. In the manuscript gold kufic is always written over white scrolls and white over gold.

There are several other ways in which the manuscript anticipates later developments. All of the pages are surrounded by a border which , in this case, consists of a tooth-and-dash pattern with a gold line on each side. The same border surrounds all surah-headings. The traditional colour scheme of Mamluke Qur'ans prior to this date is expanded to include green and black on a large scale. In the Baybars Qur'an green is used only once: in the fifth part illuminated by Sandal. It also appears in Ms 447 , dated 1314 , in the TIEM. But the Bastan Qur'an is the first that we know which uses green consistently in the illuminated areas. Ashara symbols in 26.5 the margin have borders of fine hair-line strokes. This is a relatively common technique in the East , but rarely found in manuscripts of unquestionable Mamluke provenance at this time. One example of its use does occur Ms 1473 in the Chester Beatty Library : a manuscript⁴³ whose colophon specifically states it to have been made at Tripoli in 1323. The same Qur'an has blue 'fingers' around the khamsa symbols 26.6 and these also appear in the Bastan Qur'an. There are other features which we shall examine when they become relevant.

The origins of the manuscript.

The manuscript is of some considerable importance , marking a definite break with the past and heralding some of the developments that were to come several decades later. Unfortunately we have no indication where it was written , nor for whom. There is , however, a roughly contemporary manuscript which is fully documented.

The work in question is not a Qur'an but a copy of the Four Gospels, dated 1340. It is No. 90 in the Coptic Museum, Cairo and was published in some detail many years ago in the catalogue of manuscripts to the museum. It is a fine copy. Although paintings were added in later years the original decoration is complete and this is almost entirely Islamic in conception. Coptic manuscripts have their own tradition stretching back to the beginnings of Christianity in Egypt. But on occasion Coptic artists used Islamic decoration as their model and this can often be used to fill in gaps in our knowledge. There are no Qur'ans from the first half-century of Mamluke rule in Egypt and were it not for the existence of Coptic Christian material we should have little idea of how Mamluke decoration looked prior to 1300.

If we examine the opening pages of illumination in the Coptic manuscript we can see that exactly the same type of kufic is employed. It is virtually identical to the white variety in the Bastan manuscript. Similar gold strapwork with intervening squares is used and , perhaps most important of all the same gold-on-gold decoration.

It is true that the blossoms are not chinoiserie lotuses but the method is nevertheless the same. What the page , and indeed the entire manuscript has most in common with the Bastan Qur'an , is not so much detail but the precise , highly accomplished execution - very different to the

27.1-2

27.3

the rather casual technique of Ahmad al-Mutatabbib.

The Gospels have an exact provenance. According to the certificate of commissioning⁴⁸ the manuscript was made for a Coptic cleric in Damascus during the primacy of Anbā Butrus, metropolitan of the Copts in Jerusalem and Syria, in the year of the Martyrs 1057 / 1340. It was written and collated (rūjī^c a^c ala'l-asl) by a scribe whose name is given as : Jirjis Abu'l-Fadl bin Latfaiḥ, (Fig 17).

This would suggest Damascus as the place of origin of the Bastan manuscript. The workmanship of both it and the 1340 Gospels is infinitely superior to that of manuscripts which we know to have been made in Cairo in the third decade of the fourteenth century. Both have important decorative detail in common and there are several other manuscripts from Syria, notably Chester Beatty Ms 1473, with elements that appear in the Bastan Qur'an but not in Egyptian work at this time. Some of the detail in the Bastan manuscripts, such as the coloured squares inserted into strapwork had been present in Iraqi work⁴⁹ for several decades prior to this time and it is natural for this to have appeared in Syria before being used in the illumination of Qur'ans made in Cairo.

In the second part of this chapter we would like to examine some manuscripts which illustrate the complexity of the study of Mamluke Qur'an production in this period and indicate further links with the East.

3. The Qur'an Mubārak-Shāh al-Suyūfī.

This manuscript is now in Topkapi Library, Ms Y 365 (Y 2468). It is of medium size, 37 x 25cm, and consists of 251 folios of superb black rayḥān, fifteen lines to the page. Despite the large number of lines on each page they are in no way cramped. On the contrary every page has a perfect balance and symmetry reminiscent of the

hand of Ahmad bin al-Suhrawardī.

The work of the calligrapher and artist.

a) Mubarak-Shāh bin Ahmad al-Dimashqī al-Suyūfī and the calligraphy :
The Qur'an has a large colophon presented in a rather unusual way for a Mamluke manuscript. It is written inside a large square with a gold strapwork border with blue squares after the fashion of several of the 'Yāqūt' Qur'ans. The inscription , which is of considerable importance reads as follows :

The copying of the Noble Qur'an was completed at the hands of the feeble slave , in need of the pardon of God and His forgiveness , Mubarak-Shāh al-Suyūfī in the first ⁵¹ ashr of Ramadan the blessed 744 / January 1345 , in Cairo the victorious, praising God , exalted be He , for His abundant bounty and granting of excellent well-being, praying for the Prophet and his Pure House etc, (Fig 18). 28.2.

The name given is that of one of the famous pupils of the 'sittah' , though he is named by some authorities as actually having been a pupil of the great master himself. Like all of the legendary calligraphers of the fourteenth century he remains a shadowy figure about whom conflicting information is given : a person like the others , of whose exact name we are not altogether certain, and of whose life : even birth-place we know practically nothing. Most of the authorities on calligraphy refer to him . He is to be distinguished from his namesake Mubarak-Shāh bin Qutb. According to Huart ⁵² on the authority of Mustaqīm-Zādah in the Tuhfah-yi Khatt-ātīn and ⁵³ Ali Efendi in the Munāqib-i Hunarvarān , both Mubarak-

Shāhs were pupils of Yāqūt. Huarts biography of Al-Suyufi tells us as follows: ⁵⁴

...fut unique dans l'écriture rayhani : part il etait ausi habile á manier le sabre que la plume. Il prit part á nombreuses guerres. Soyufi tire son surnom ethnique d'un village des environs de Nichapour, dans le Khorasan ; il veçut a Basora ... mort 735 / 1334-5.

⁵⁵
According to Mustaqīm-Zādah the calligrapher was of Baghdadi origin:
⁵⁶
Faza'ili on the other hand says that he was from Damascus , adding that Yahyā al-Jamālī al-Sūfī was one of his pupils. In the Salar Jang Collection ⁵⁷, Hyderabad, there is another Qur'an , also stating that it was written in Cairo and giving the full name of Al-Suyūfī : Mubārak-Shāh bin Ahmad al-Dimashqī al-Suyūfī. This is the only instance we have of his name in full as all of the historians simply refer to him as Mubārak-Shāh al-Suyūfī. It confirms the statement of Faza'ili that the calligrapher had some links with Syria , in-so-far as there was Damascene ancestry in his background. Whether the nisbah 'al-suyūfī' is related to his prowess in military matters or merely refers to the village near Nishapur is impossible to say. If the latter is correct then it would imply that his ancestors came from Damascus to Iran and that he was born in Nishapur. We are inclined to doubt this. Under normal circumstances when two place-names - or more than two - appear in a person's name this means that he originated in the first and then moved to the second.

All authorities , ancient and modern , are agreed that Mubārak-Shāh was famous as a master of rayhān. Our manuscript is a particularly fine example of that hand, and one of the best examples of

from the first half of the fourteenth century. It is a particularly elegant variety of this script. As we have pointed out rayhān was not a script especially favoured by the Mamlukes, thus it is unlikely that the calligrapher could have arrived at this degree of excellence in Cairo or indeed anywhere in the Mamluke domains. Mubārak-Shāh we are told by all authorities worked in the East, where he would have perfected this hand without difficulty.

None of the muslim historians of calligraphy mention a visit by Mubārak-Shāh to Cairo. There is no reason why such a visit should not have occurred. As we have seen, the information given in the later histories is exceedingly meagre for the early fourteenth century: even the correct names of major calligraphers like Ibn al-Suhrawardī are not given and we know of them only by accident. Thus if the manuscript were a later forgery - or facsimile - depending on one's point of view, it would have been inviting suspicion to mention Cairo (of all places) in the colophon. Baghdad, Damascus or any Iranian city would have been far more logical. Thus we believe that this manuscript is a true example of the hand of Al-Suyūfī and adds a new piece to the jigsaw of his life.

A reconstruction of the career of Mubārak-Shāh al-Suyūfī.

On the basis of his existing biographies, and on the basis of the two Cairo-produced Qur'ans we would tentatively reconstruct Mubārak-Shāh's career as follows: He was born in Damascus, trained in Baghdad where he became a master of rayhān, possibly under the guidance of Yāqūt. He seems to have spent some time in Iran. If he was the teacher of Yahyā al-Sūfī he must have been in Tabriz or possibly Shiraz, where we know Al-Sūfī worked in the thirteen-forties. He is supposed to have had a penchant for military matters: an

unlikely pursuit for a calligrapher - and a rather dangerous one in the troubled circumstances of Iran at this time. Nevertheless, there may be some truth in the story, since Al-Sūfī with whom he is linked was the protégé of the Ilkhanid war-lord Chūpān Solduz⁵⁸, who died in 1326. In those days there would have been plenty of opportunity for a man to develop his military talents in the inter-family feuds which erupted as the Ilkhanid empire went into decline. In 1344 we find him in Cairo to which he must have travelled by way of Damascus. Of his work we have only the two Qur'ans above mentioned. There is a treatise by him which was in a private collection in Tehran at the time Faza'ili wrote his Atlas-i Khatt.⁵⁹ Al-Suyufī was almost certainly not an illuminator. All the evidence that we have suggests that in the first half of the fourteenth century outstanding masters of calligraphy confined themselves to that art alone. Of the four leading masters working in this period, whose productions we know to be genuine: Ibn al-Wahīd, Ibn al-Suhrawardī, Yahyā al-Sūfī, or feel that there is a very good possibility of their being genuine: Arghūn al-Kāmilī, not one was responsible for illuminating the Qur'an, or Qur'ans, which bears his name. In each case the name of an illuminator is given.

b) The illumination: The fact alluded to above, we believe, explains the enigma of the illumination in this Qur'an. The manuscript is superbly illuminated and is of a quality comparable to the Bastan Museum / Coptic Museum manuscripts. Thus the illuminator is unlikely to have been a Cairo-trained painter, as all evidence points to the decline of Qur'an illumination in Cairo from 1330 to 1350.

It is more probable that the illuminator was either Syrian or Iraqi. However, the matter is unfortunately not quite so easily explained. Apart from the fact that the manuscript has some odd features, like the absence of any opening pages of illumination, there are major elements in the decoration which do not occur in any Mamluke Qur'ans before the early thirteen-seventies, in manuscripts associated with the painter Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī. This man, we believe, was a major figure in the field of Qur'an illumination in Cairo under Sultan Sha^cban and responsible for the introduction of many new elements from Iraq and the East. He was also responsible, we believe it can be shown, for the illumination of at least one Qur'an bearing the name of a member of the 'sittah': Mubarak-Shāh bin Qutb. We shall have more to say about the illumination of this manuscript when dealing with the work of Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī in the final part of this study.⁶⁰

4. The Emir Sirghitmish al-Nāsirī and the Qur'an of Mubarak-Shāh bin Abdallāh.

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National Library Cairo Ms 60 is a large, almost-complete thirty-part Qur'an bearing the waqfiyyah of the Emir Sirghitmish al-Nāsirī endowing the manuscript to his madrasah in 757 / 1356. It has been exhibited in part at least once and has been considered as Mamluke hitherto. Each part is written in magnificent muhaggaq, five lines to the page, with all vocalisation, like the script, in black. The Qur'an is finely illuminated on the opening pages of text, though there is little additional decoration in the text. Surah-headings are in gold riqā^c without surrounding panels and the final pages of text in all volumes remain unadorned. Each juz' measures 38 x 27cm. 29.1

a) The calligraphy: The manuscript bears a signature in its final volume on the last page.⁶² This follows immediately after Sūrat al-Nās in the identical muhaggaq stating the calligrapher to be Mubārak-29.2 Shāh bin °Abdallāh. According to an album of superb calligraphy compiled for the Timurid prince Bāysunqur ; now in Topkapi Library , Ms H 2310, Mubārak-Shāh bin °Abdallāh was one of the 'sittah'. Although it seems unlikely, since no one else mentions him , it is quite probable that there was a calligrapher of this name who was a pupil of Yāqūt though not one of the 'sittah'. The compilers of the album were working within a hundred years of the 'sittah' when there was much information around , probably mostly oral , on the old masters.

There is a striking resemblance between this calligraphy and that 13.1 of Ibn al-Suhrawardī in Qur'an A (Baghdad). Both employ exactly the same type of muhaggaq verging on thulth in thirty-part Qur'ans with a five line per-page division. Vocalisation is black throughout in both cases. A number of ajzā' finish in exactly the same way as the final one in Cairo Ms 60.⁶³

b) The illumination: Illumination , like script, is of a high quality. There are no frontispieces and the main areas of decoration are the 29.3 thirty opening pages of text. The dozen or so that it was possible for us to examine show considerable variation. There seems to be little connection between the illumination of many of these opening pages and earlier Mamluke decoration in Qur'ans. But several parallels appear between it and that in Iranian Qur'ans from the first half of the fourteenth century. The entire layout and decoration of the opening pages to Parts 11, 20 and 28 is identical to that in a single juz' from a manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library , ascribed

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 wrongly to Yāqūt, but clearly Iranian, Ms 1471. There is also a 30.1
 close resemblance between these pages and the opening pages of
 several ajzā' from another Iranian Qur'an in the same library
 dated 1334.⁶⁵ In most of the ajzā' examined there was no strap- 31.1
 work : a feature uncharacteristic of Mamluke Qur'ans but found in
 Iranian ones. Some other details , such as the use of the wave-diaper 29.4
 patterned grounds and a treble-dot motif over hatched grounds
 are commonly found in Ilkhanid Qur'ans. In the body of the text
 there is a very distinctive khamṣa symbol with a petalled 29.5
 border in dark and light-blue. This is found in manuscripts of
 the thirteen-forties , almost certainly attributable to Baghdad,⁶⁶
 though this particular colour-combination occurs in the Qur'an
 of 1338 made at Maraghah and now divided between the Chester Beatty
 Library , Ms 1470 and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Mss 29: 57-8

History of the manuscript.

All we know for certain about the history of the manuscript is
 that it bears the waqfiyyah of the Emir Ṣirghitmish al-Nāṣirī.
 This waqfiyyah which appears to be in all volumes reads as follows:

The slave in need of the aid of God, exalted be He, Ṣirghitmish has
 endowed in perpetuity all of this blessed portion for those occupied
 with the Noble Wisdom and on those residing in the Ḥanafīyyah Madrasah⁶⁷
 near the mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn , built by the High Abode , that they
 might benefit by that , in using it and copying it night and day. It
 should not be removed from the above-mentioned madrasah , neither
 sold nor pawned etc., (Fig 19).

The wagfiyyah is not dated but we know that the emir built the madrasah in 757 / 1356⁶⁸, so the manuscript was presumably endowed at that time. Al-Safadī, Maqrīzī and Ibn Hajar⁶⁹ all give accounts of the life of this emir, who had the distinction of being bought by Al-Nāsir at the highest price ever paid for a mamluke, Sirghitmish appears to have been a cultivated man. He was familiar with Arabic and had interests in both grammar and fiqh. He came to Cairo in 1336 and rose to prominence during the short reign of Al-Muzaffar Hājji, 1346-7. There are two points in the accounts of his life that may have some bearing on the Qur'an. Sirghitmish may have been a practising calligrapher. Ibn Hajar quotes Al-Safadī as seeing some lines in his hand on the wall of the Sultaniyyah Madrasah in Aleppo, where he was governor for a time. Secondly all authorities refer to his great fondness for the company of Iranians :

...he cultivated the Iranians, honoured and exalted them exceedingly.

(Appendix 3,1)

After his downfall there were attacks on Iranians who had been associated with him, or just happened to be living near his house. What better gift for a cultivated man interested in grammar, perhaps a calligrapher, and an Iranophile than a fine Qur'an by a pupil of Yāqūt. Perhaps, on the other hand, the manuscript was the work of some of the emir's Iranian protégés, living in the madrasah founded by him. It is difficult to do more than speculate. Of two things we can be certain. First the manuscript, wherever it was copied is in a type of script that was shortly to become extremely popular in Cairo. After this date all of the finest Qur'ans are in this same muhaggaq-jalī style. Secondly there is undoubted Iranian workmanship in the illumination that can be seen in earlier and contemporary manuscripts from

Iran.

Summary.

The four most completely documented manuscripts in this period which cover the end of the reign of Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (d. 1341) until roughly the second period of Al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (1354-61). None of the manuscripts examined can be associated with any Mamluke ruler and only one bears an inscription enabling us to link it with an important figure.

The position in Egypt and Syria at this time as far as Qur'anic calligraphy and illumination is concerned is broadly as follows. The style of Ṣandal continued but in a debased form in Cairo until about 1345. In Syria it may have continued until the same time in a more superior form. At approximately the same time we have the appearance of a number of superbly illuminated Qur'ans and related manuscripts which seem to herald future developments in Cairo and have links with work produced in Iraq and Iran. These can be positively attributed to Syria, almost certainly to Damascus.

Between 1345 and 1355 we have two outstanding manuscripts, both of which can be associated with Cairo and both of which are superior from the point of calligraphy and illumination to anything produced there from the time of Ṣandal and Aḏūghdī, c.1320. Both have strong links with Iran and may be the work of Iranian or Iraqi-trained masters working in Cairo. There is a strong argument for believing that one of these, the Qur'an of Ṣirghitmish, may have had some influence in popularising the muḥaqqaq-jalī style, because it is immediately after the appearance of this manuscript in Cairo that muḥaqqaq-jalī began to be used for every major Qur'an. Like the earlier Qur'an B.iii (Hamadan) which had been in Cairo for several decades this one states in its waqfiyyah that it should be copied. The former, as we have seen,

was in rayhān and in a complex and unusual format : the later one is far more 'orthodox'. Whereas the former , we believe, had no influence on the development of calligraphy in Mamluke Qur'ans , this one , we suggest, probably did.

Chapter Five : Iraq and Iran 1320-1345.

During the initial decade of the fourteenth century there were two distinct groups of Qur'an manuscripts. First there were the 'royal' Qur'ans : secondly there were the smaller , more modest , usually single-volume copies which normally lack any certificate of commissioning or the name of a patron.

What we would like to do in this chapter is to examine the most important manuscripts , and in particular groups of related manuscripts produced in the period between the death of Öljaytū and the creation of the Qur'an of Tāshī-Khātūn in 1344. We shall deal with manuscripts made in , or attributable to Baghdad, Shiraz and Tabriz.

1. Baghdad : Qur'ans by Arghūn al-Kāmilī and Muhammad bin Sayf al-Dīn.

a) Arghūn al-Kāmilī and his work : We are fortunate in having a group of manuscripts from Baghdad , evidently produced by the same team over a ten year period which enable us to trace developments in the third decade of the fourteenth century in Baghdad. This group of works , hitherto unknown, consists of five complete Qur'ans and a fragmentary one. All are signed by Arghūn al-Kāmilī , one of the 'sittah' and all but one are illuminated by the same painter whose name is given. These manuscripts are as follows :

1. TIEM Ms K 202.¹ Complete single volume Qur'an dated 720 / 1320.
2. Topkapi Library Ms EH 151. Complete single-volume Qur'an dated 730 / 1329-30.
3. Bayazit Library, Istanbul, Ms 8056. Complete single-volume Qur'an dated Safar 738 / August 1337

4. TIEM. Ms K 452. Complete single-volume Qur'an dated 741 / 1340-1.

5. Chester Beatty Library Ms 1498². Undated fragment.

These Qur'ans³ are all in rayhān and signed by Arghūn⁴. The first four have complete colophons giving his name in various forms, (Fig 19 a-d). As with most members of the 'sittah' biographical information is meagre. He is described by some authors as Turkish, by others as Persian. He is said to have been born in Iraq⁵ ^CAjamī and brought up in Baghdad, 'turki'l-asl ^Carabi'l-adab', where he became expert in all the classic hands, but especially muhaggaq and rayhān. In Qādī Ahmad he is said to have been the author of the inscriptions in two madrasahs in Baghdad: the Marjāniyyah and the 'one beside the bridge'. Some doubt is cast on this as the first was not built until 1356⁶, eleven years after Arghūn's supposed death. However, as we have seen historians are by no means accurate in these matters. He is said to have copied the Qur'an twenty-nine times.

All of the manuscripts above-mentioned are in rayhān, Arghūn's speciality, although he is said to have been the master of every hand. None of them give Baghdad - or any city - as their place of but as he is reputed to have lived there it is justifiable to assume that they all come from there.

All of the manuscripts date from the period in which Arghūn is said to have lived and three are by the same illuminator whose name is given in the Bayazit Qur'an. Two other early fourteenth century works by famous calligraphers are signed by illuminators and this is part of the reason for our believing them to be genuine. We can only assume that the painters deliberately wanted to draw attention to their assoc-

iation with these famous calligraphers and would have been unlikely to have put their names to something that they knew to have been a forgery, particularly if that manuscript were being sold for a large sum. If a facsimile, or deliberate forgery, was produced there was no need for the illuminator to sign the manuscript - and this was the normal practise. Why should a painter have wished to draw attention to himself unless the authenticity of the manuscript was beyond question? Thus, in our opinion, the chances of at least the last four of the Arghūn manuscripts being genuine are quite high.

The manuscripts are all in an excellent rayhān with black vocalis- 32.1
ation. The script in the Chester Beatty pages is somewhat larger than that in the other copies, but all examples follow the type usually associated with Yāqūt. All copies except the first have thirteen lines of script to the page.

b) The work of the illuminator, Muhammad bin Sayf al-Dīn al-Naqqāsh:⁷
Those manuscripts copied between 1329 and 1341 are all illuminated in the same style. In one of these, Bayazit Library Ms 8056, the name of 33.1
the painter is given in panels above and below the colophon, just as we see the name of Muhammad bin Aybak in several parts of Qur'an A (Baghdad). Apart from these manuscripts we have no other examples of his work. Nevertheless, with the exception of Ibn Aybak, he is the only painter whose activities we can trace in Iranian and Iraqi manuscripts over more than one manuscript at this time.

He was an excellent and inventive designer: a master of both 33.2
'traditional' compositions and those we have not seen before. The earliest of the traditional type occurs in the Bayazit manuscript and consists of a star-polygon with projecting arms. Although the

theme is familiar ,the overall pattern is not one that we have noted elsewhere.⁸ In the centre is a rosette or blossom - a device for which the painter shows a great fondness. At the extremities of the central pattern , against the outer edge, are more petalled motifs. These also appear at the ends of the panels containing kufic inscriptions. All panels are surrounded by an outer border of gold palmettes alternating with blue, green and pink lotus-like blossoms and a blue and gold palmette. It is unusual to have three elements in a border. The two latter are used in the borders of the marginal medallions. Such palmette-and-blossom borders to medallions occur in Qur'ans made at Baghdad⁹ and Tabriz¹⁰ before 1316 but are not found elsewhere prior to 1337.

In the TIEM manuscript of 1340-1 the same star-polygon appears in 34.1 the opening illumination but this time filling the entire rectangle and not truncated. In the central area and in the border are numerous polychrome blossoms. In the outer margin , the medallion is 34.2 surrounded by petals of light and dark-blue , in a very distinctive combination. Muhammad bin Sayf al-Dīn was especially fond of this colour combination and employs it often in his work.¹¹

The painter's undoubted 'piece-de-resistance' occurs in the Topk- 35.1 api manuscript, Ms EH 151, dated 1329-30. It is made up of a central rectangular panel containing two swastikas with linked arms set at an angle. Both swastikas and the surrounding areas are decorated with a simple gold vine-scroll. The triangular spaces around the swastikas are filled with half and quarter-circles containing palmettes. Around the central panel is a wide border with oval cartouches bearing arabesque decoration, and between them are circles with rosettes in light and dark-blue. In the four corners are square panels with quatrefoils and between them inscriptions in gold thulth.

The final outer border is made up of blank palmettes, on an undecorated ground. We find the same feature in the manuscript of 1337. As far as our researches permit us to say, it appears that only other example of this in fourteenth century Qur'ans prior to this date occurs in the work of Ibn Mubādir. It provides another link between that artist and the East, probably Baghdad. It is also interesting that although the use of the swastika is relatively frequent in Islamic design, its appearance in Qur'an illumination is rare. However it is used in the work of Ibn Mubādir as well as Muhammad bin Sayf al-Dīn: we can see it in the background to the colophon page of Part 2 of the Baybars Qur'an. In the same volume corners are squared-off in a distinctive manner, just as we see in the Topkapi manuscript of 1329. 1.9

Turning to the remainder of the manuscripts illuminated by Muhammad bin Sayf al-Dīn we can see that he was fond of a number of motifs that occur repeatedly in his work. To contain inscriptions he often employs a motif ending in an eight-pointed star-shape. And at the end of each panel the shape is repeated in the form of a half-star which is always filled with a rosette or blossom. Throughout the manuscripts surah-headings are frequently written in cartouches of boldly-irregular shapes and very often culminate in a particularly distinctive marginal palmette. These occur in three of the four Qur'ans by Muhammad bin Sayf al-Dīn. The palmette consists of multi-petalled blossoms in dark and light-blue with some of the petals ending in curling points. It is always joined to the surah-panel by a single slender line. 35.2 34.3

The collaboration of Muhammad bin Sayf al-Dīn and Arghūn al-Kāmilī is only one of three such 'teams' known to us in Iraq and

Iran in the first half of the fourteenth century : the others being Ibn al-Suhrawardī and Muḥammad bin Aybak , and Yahyā al-Sūfī and Hamza al-^cAlawī. In each case the 'teams' worked together over periods lasting from two to ten years - perhaps even longer.

We cannot be certain the Muḥammad bin Sayf al-Dīn worked in Baghdad like Ibn Aybak , but the chances that he did are quite strong. His oeuvre shows some links with the work produced there in the early years of the century. It is more noticeable however, for several features which we do not see elsewhere. The painter was familiar with traditional patterns yet at the same time introduces some quite striking new compositions. Unfortunately, we have no idea for whom any of these manuscripts were made. It was just at this time that the Jala'irid, Sultan Hasan-i Buzurg was in the process of consolidating his hold on Baghdad , following the collapse of Ilkhanid power with the death of Abū Sa^oīd in 1335. At least one of the Qur'ans might have been made for the Jala'irid monarch or some member of his retinue. If so there is no documentary evidence to say whom.

2. Tabriz : the Taiss Qur'an of the 'Eunuch's Lady'.

Among the Qur'ans of the Chester Beatty Library are the remains of a once-magnificent manuscript copied in thirty parts; Ms 1469 a-d.¹² 31.1
Recently two further parts were sold in Sothebys. The various ajza' are as follows:

Chester Beatty Library Ms 1469 a. Juz' 8, copied in Shawwāl 734 / June 1334.

Chester Beatty Library Ms 1469 b. Juz' 11. copied in Shawwāl 734 / June 1334.

Chester Beatty Library Ms 1469 o. Juz' 16, copied in Shawwāl 734 / June 1334.

Chester Beatty Library Ms 1469 d. Juz' .20.

Ex-Sotheby Ms (27.4.82. Lot 207) Juz' .21.¹³

Ex-Sotheby Ms (27.4.82. Lot 208) Juz' 26, copied in Shawwāl 734 / June 1334.

Chester Beatty Library Ms 1469 e. Juz' 27.

a) The calligraphy : Each juz' measures 36 x 25cm . The text is written in elegant thulth/rayhān , gold with blue vowels a typical Iranian colour combination. There are five lines of script on each page. All of the parts must have borne the identical date. In several cases the final folios are missing or badly damaged. However both Juz' 8 and Juz' 26 state that they were written in the month of June 1334. All colophons are in a neat naskh hand and say as follows :

Copied by the sinful slave Amīr Ḥājj bin Ahmad al-Ṣayinī ... (Fig 20a)

It seems that the explanation of these colophons is that they were all inserted by the calligrapher at the same time , and record the completion of the manuscript. Otherwise , it is difficult to see how he could have copied out the entire manuscript , which is in a complicated musha^carah style in one month.

In describing this manuscript in the catalogue to the Chester Beatty Qur'an collection , Arberry describes it as 'Mamluke'. In this he has been followed recently by Atil¹⁴ , no doubt basing her opinion on Arberry. The manuscript is not Mamluke , but Iranian. Rayhān Qur'ans in gold with blue vocalisation are not a Mamluke phenomena . Several Iranian manuscripts are written in this way

including some of the most famous , ie., Qur'an B.iii (Hamadan) and the 1344 Qur'an by Yahyā al-Sūfī. The placing of a blue and gold border around each page is also an Iranian characteristic though it does occur very occasionally in Mamluke Qur'ans at this time.¹⁶

b) The illumination: None of the ajzā' have opening pages of illumination. Like the Qur'ans described in the final section of the previous chapter , illumination is virtually confined to the initial pages of text. The layout and illumination of these opening pages is virtually identical to several of the ajzā' in the Qur'an of Sirghitmish. Two types of ground are used for the central panels of text : one is floral over red cross-hatchings with a treble dot motif ; the other consists of a wave-diaper pattern. Similar ones are used in the Cairo manuscript. That manuscript rarely employs an outer border of palmettes : this one does , but only of simple blue spikes. In the margin is a single pear-shaped medallion with arabesque decoration. The same device appears in the Cairo manuscript too. Some of the opening pages , those on Juz' 21 for example have a chain-link border that does occur in much later Mamluke manuscripts but first appears in Ilkhanid work of the early fourteenth century, and virtually nowhere else. There is another fragmentary multi-part Qur'an in the British Library that has many features in common with the Chester Beatty one and which was probably made around the same time , Ms Or. 1339.

History of the manuscript.

The most important clue as far as the origins of the Qur'an are

concerned is probably to be found in the name of the copyist. The name Amīr Hāj̄j does occur among the Mamlukes, but there is no reason why it could not be Ilkhanid. The nisbah 'al-sāyini' is unknown in Mamluke society : at least a detailed examination of the annals does not reveal any person with that name. Sāyin is in fact of Mongol origin.¹⁶ It was one of the names of Bātū-Khān, grandson of Jenghis who died in 1225-6. Near to the Mongol capital of Sultaniyyah in Iran was a place called Qal'at Sāyin or Sāyin-Qal'ah.¹⁷ It is possible that someone with the nisbah 'al-sāyini' could have come from that area. However, in our opinion, a much more likely explanation is that the calligrapher associated in some way with the Ilkhanid vizir Rukn al-Dīn Sāyin¹⁸, a protégé of the Emir Chūpān Solduz who was appointed in 1324 and then executed by the amir in 1327. If the calligrapher was connected in some way with the late vizir then most likely that would have been in Tabriz the capital and it to that city that we would tentatively ascribe this Qur'an.

By means unknown to us the manuscript was sent to Taizz in the Yemen at some stage in its history. Several ajza' have a barely-decipherable waqfiyyah which reads :

This Blessed Section was endowed in perpetuity by our mistress, the noble lady¹⁹ of the Eunuch Jamāl al-Dīn Farhān for those²⁰ who read the Noble Qur'an in the Farhāniyyah Madrasah established in Ta^cizz the protected.... (Fig 20b)

The date of this madrasah is unknown but it was built in the second half of the fourteenth century so the Qur'an must have been endowed

between 1334 and 1400. The most likely route for it to have taken was via the Mamlukes , at some stage , though how is difficult to determine.

3. Shiraz : the Qur'an of Tāshī-Khātūn.

In the first half of the fourteenth century it is rare to come across Qur'ans which are fully documented. That is to say , that calligrapher , illuminator , patron, date and place of production are all established beyond doubt. Such is the case with the Qur'an of Tāshī-Khātūn , most surviving ajzā' of which are today in the Pars Museum , Shiraz.

Parts of the manuscript have been exhibited outside of Shiraz on a number of occasions : first in the Bastan Museum Qur'an exhibition in 1949²¹ , then at the Metropolitan Museum in the same year²² and finally , most recently at the Qur'an Exhibition in London in 1976.²³

No catalogue of the Pars Museum exists. During our visit there in September 1978 we were shown many parts which were supposed to be from this manuscript , all in a gold rayḥān-like script but which on examination turned out to be from three separate Qur'ans. The fullest information on the manuscript appears to be recorded in the work Āthar-i 'Ajam by Muhammad Nasir Shirazi , published in Bombay in 1896. According to this author of the Qur'an two parts were in the library of Ayatollah Aqa Hajji Ibn Yusuf Hada'iq; two were in the National Library of Pars (?) , and three were in the Pars Museum.²⁴ Our researches have uncovered only four of these :²⁵ 2,3,11 and 30. Unfortunately we have only been able to ascertain

the number of Juz' 11 : Ms 456. These parts supply us with all the documentary information we need. The manuscript was written by the famous calligrapher Yahyā al-Sūfī and illuminated by Hamza bin Muhammad al-²⁶Alawī.

The circumstances of commissioning.

There are two colophons in the surviving portions ; the earliest in Juz' 11 reads as follows:

36.1

It was written in the days of the sultanate of the greatest sultan , possessor of the necks of the kings of the World, user of kings and sultans , the Alexander of his time, quintessence of the elements, Jamāl al-Millāh wa'-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn , honour of Islam and the muslims Shaykh Abū Ishāq , may God make his rule eternal , by the slave Yahyā al-Jamālī al-Sūfī in the year 745 / 1344-5, at the royal abode Shiraz (Fig 21 a)

This important inscription tells us for certain that the Qur'an was made in Shiraz , which at that time was under the control of the Injuvid monarch Abū Ishāq (1343 - 54). In Juz' 3 there is a similar colophon. Neither of these actually state that it was Abū Ishāq who commissioned the manuscript , merely that it was written during his rule. It could be inferred from this that the sultan was the commissioner , though the usual practise , if this were the case, was for it to be mentioned, eg. kutiba bi-rasm or bi-amr . In fact the commissioner is far more likely to have been his mother Tāshī-Khātūn who endowed the manuscript to the Shāh-i Chirāgh mosque in Shiraz , which she renovated between 1344 and 1349. A waqfiyyah in

the manuscript tell us :

36.2

This juz' together with the remainder of the thirty ajzā' of the Word of the Lord was endowed to the exalted shrine of the greatest Imam and noble resting place of the delight of the eyes of the Prophets , Ahmad bin Mūsā al-Ridā, the peace of God be upon him , by the exalted lady , sultan of the ladies of her time , queen of the kingdom of Solomon, Tāshī-Khātūn, may her greatness be prolonged, as an endowment in perpetuity. May God accept it from her, (Fig 21 b)

Ibn Batutah who visited the shrine in 1347-8 remarks upon the devotion²⁸ of the lady to the shrine of the Imam. He tells us :

Tāshī-Khātūn , mother of the sultan Abū Ishaq , has built a large madrasah and zāwīyyah here in which there is always food for those coming to and those departing from Shiraz and where Qur'an readers continually read the Qur'an at the tomb. The lady is accustomed to go to the shrine on monday nights when the judges, faqihs, and nobles of Shiraz gather there ... When people arrive the Qur'an is recited²⁹ in its entirety from copies (ajzā'). The reciters read in the most melodious voices. Food is partaken ; the preacher then delivers his sermon. This occurs between the noon and evening prayers while the lady is in a room overlooking the mosque which has a window. Then drums and trumpets are sounded at the door of the tomb , as happens at the doors of kings.

As the date of the Qur'an falls within the period of Tāshī-Khātūn's restoration of the shrine , it would seem to us highly likely, that it was she who commissioned the manuscript rather than her son. Though

he may have commissioned it on her behalf.

The work of the calligrapher and artist.

a) Yahyā al-Sūfī and the calligraphy : There are five lines of script on each page of the manuscript which measures 50 x 36cm. It is a 36.3
fine muhaggaq/rayhān , with many of the characteristics of a classic muhaggaq but with the fine vowels of rayhān. The letters are in gold outlines in black with some of the eyes of the letters filled in with black. Vocalisation is in blue. The text is within a blue and gold border on each page , as we see in Qur'an B.iii (Hamadan) and like the latter surah-headings are normally written in riqā' on a blank ground.

An odd feature of this manuscript is that Juz' 11 is dated 745 whereas Juz' 3 bears the date 746. Although this may be an error it is not impossible that the calligrapher began with the shorter surahs when writing the Qur'an , as is the custom when the text is being committed to memory.³⁰ There is no reason why it should not have been done in this way. Normal practise however was for the calligrapher to begin with Juz' 1.

Yahyā bin Nāsir al-Jamālī al-Sūfī³¹ was reputedly a pupil of Ahmad Rūmī a pupil of Yāqūt and one of the 'sittah' according to some authorities and Mubārak-Shāh bin Qutb and/or Mubārak-Shāh al-Suyūfī. He was a practising sufi , which explains his name. 'Al-Jamālī' presumably reflects the reflects the patronage of Abū Ishaq whose throne-name was Jamāl al-Dīn. Buildings in Shiraz and Najaf bore inscriptions by him , and one of these still exists. He was in the service of Emir Chūpān Solduz the famous Ilkhanid warlord , executed in 1326 by Abū Sa'id. He entered the service of the Injuvids and after their

demise , the Muzaffarids. How this came about is not known. However Pīr Husayn , grandson of Chūpān, occupied for two years from 1339 before being driven out by his nephew Ashraf. It was only after Ashraf's withdrawal that Shaykh Abū Ishāq took control.³² Perhaps Yahyā was in the service of Pīr Husayn and remained there until the time of Abū Ishāq.

Other work by Yahyā al-Sūfī.

There are several manuscripts and inscriptions bearing the name of this calligrapher. The earliest is a Qur'an in the TIEM dated 739 / 1338-9.³³ There is another in identical hand in the Chester Beatty Library dated 740 / 1339-40.³⁴ All other items date from the time of Abū Ishāq. At the ancient site of Persepolis is an inscription³⁵ which records the visit of Sultan Abū Ishāq in Rabī^c I 748 / August 1347. It consists of eleven lines of fine thulth , now much damaged. The second is found in the Masjid-i ^cAtīq in Shiraz , where in 752 / 1351 it was inscribed around the upper part of the Khudā-khānah , or Bayt al-Masāhif³⁶ built by the Injuvid monarch. According to the Shadd al-Izār , written in 1388 , there were many Qur'ans there by famous personalities of the past.³⁷ The Khudā-khānah was built a repository for Qur'ans. Manuscripts were probably copied there too. Yahyā al-Sūfī's inscription is reproduced in brick and is unusual because the interstices of the letters are filled in with glazed tile.

The two manuscripts , TIEM Ms 430 , and Chester Beatty Ms 1475, 37.1
antedate the rule of Abū Ishāq in Shiraz. The whereabouts of the 38.1
calligrapher at this time -1338-40- are unknown though he must have
been at Tabriz or Shiraz. Both manuscripts are in an identical small

naskh. The sīn of the basmallāh is greatly extended and the curves of nūn, qāf, yā' etc are prolonged for several letters. Tā' marbūtah is invariably joined to preceeding rā' wāw, dāl etc in a distinctive ligature. It is a feature that does occur in 'Yāqūt' Qur'ans³⁸ as well as in later manuscripts. In both manuscripts surah-headings are in riqā'. The earlier one has a line of thulth at the top and bottom of each page.

Much of the decoration in the later manuscript is Ottoman. The TIEM manuscript has exceptionally high quality illumination, but of a type quite different to the work of Al -^OAlawī illuminator of the 1345-6 Shiraz Qur'an or the 1334 Qur'an referred to in the last section. It is greatly superior to either. We shall discuss this manuscript in the final chapter. At this point let us say that if the manuscripts are genuine they must have been illuminated at a later date.

38.1

b) Hamza bin Muhammad al-^CAlawī and the illumination: The final juz' of the Qur'an bears the signiature of the painter whose work is not known elsewhere. There are no illuminated frontispieces, the manuscript begins with the text. The opening pages of text are illuminated. There are two lines of text in each case, within a white cartouche on a ground which may be hatched or decorated in some other way, such as tiny semi-circles. Above and below are rectangular panels surrounded gold bands, plain or made up of strapwork. Perhaps the most interesting features occur in the upper and lower panels. These are in three sections, the middle one bearing an inscription over arabesque scrolls, the outer ones containing quatrefoil compositions. A distinctive feature is the very narrow borders

36.4 -

6

which runs around three sides of each page , usually made up of squat palmettes or tri-lobed blossoms. In earlier Iranian and Mamluke Qur'ans borders tended to much more elaborate and deeper. It is worth noting that similar borders are found in some of the Sirghitmish Qur'an pages. In the centre of each vertical margin is a circular or pear-shaped , and decorated with motifs similar to those in the borders.

Ayahs are marked with gold rosettes : khamsa and ashara symbols occur throughout. Each takes the form of a red circle bearing an inscription in gold kufic and has a gold border. Khamsa 36.7 signs are pear-shaped and have a white border with opposing 'Y' shapes. Similar borders occur on the ashara signs. The latter often has 36.8 a wide border with palmettes or blossoms on a blue ground.

The decoration of Al-^CAlawī is rather ordinary , even mediocre in parts. Illustrated manuscripts produced in Shiraz at this time employ a crude rather 'folky' style of painting and the general level of workmanship does not seem to have been very high.

4. Qur'ans with Turkic inter-linear translations.

Among Qur'ans of the fourteenth century are a group of manuscripts with Turkic inter-linear translations. Some of these are related to Qur'ans with Persian translations. Several bear dates between the fourth and sixth decades of the century. The manuscripts are the following:

40
1. TIEM Ms 73. Complete single-volume Qur'an dated 734 / 1333-4 and copied by Muhammad bin Hājji Dawlat-Shāh al-Shīrāzī.

41
2. Astan-i Quds Library, Meshhed Ms 293. A single volume Qur'an dated 737 / 1337, copied by Muhammad bin Shaykh Yūsuf al-Ābārī who is called

'Sayyid al-Khāṭṭāt'.

3, John Rylands Library Ms Arab 760-773.⁴² Thirteen ajzā' from a thirty part Qur'an. Undated, circa 1337.

4. Süleymaniye Library Istanbul Ms Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa Camii 2. Single-volume Qur'an dated 764 / 1362-3.

The finest of these is the third one, which is written, illuminated and presented in ways rather different to any Qur'an that we have examined so-far. It has already been the subject of several studies by Turkologists since it contains an early Turkic translation of the Qur'anic text, together with a Persian one which is also of an early date. According to these authorities, the Turkic translation is late twelfth - early thirteenth century Qarakhanid, though the manuscript is later. Eckmann who has published the manuscript in its entirety states:⁴³

The few innovations introduced by the copyist... make it plausible that the present manuscript was executed in the second-half of the thirteenth century or in the first-half of the fourteenth century. Paleographic peculiarities also corroborate this dating.

In short the position is the same as that of the TIEM manuscript, which although dated 1337 contains a Turkic text of archaic origin.

Because of the sumptuousness of the manuscript and the Turkic translation, the Qur'an has on occasion been called Mamluke. Few of the calligraphic and decorative features occur in Mamluke Qur'ans. Furthermore, despite the use of Turkish in Cairo and Damascus and the existence of large Persian-speaking communities at the Mamluke capital, there are no Qur'ans of undoubted Mamluke provenance which contain interlinear translations in those languages.

The Rylands manuscript consists of the following ajzā' :

4-6;9-10; 13-14; 16,20;22-26;28. With the exception of Juz' 5 all others are incomplete. Some of the missing folios are in other institutions. The Los Angeles County Museum of Art has the opening folio of Juz' 4 (Ms 73.5490)⁴⁴ while the Chester Beatty Library has one from Juz' 5 (Ms 1606) and another from Juz' 20 (Ms 1630)⁴⁵.

Calligraphy and illumination in the Rylands manuscript.

a) Calligraphy: The format of the manuscript is horizontal not vertical , each page measuring approximately 27 x 29cm. There are three lines of script per page except for the opening ones which have only one. The text is written in a very distinctive form of thulth verging on muhaggaq in which the letters give the impression of being too large for the size of the pen. Verticals particularly are rather long and thin. Letters and vowel are in black throughout , but the words 'Muhammad' and 'Allāh', whenever they occur are in gold. Underneath each line are the translations : Persian first with Turkic underneath.

39.1

The division of pages into a three-line format is a rare one. Up to this point we have seen only the early fourteenth century Qur'an that we have attributed to Ibn al-Wahid written in this way. Other manuscripts which employ this division and use a script closely resembling that of the Rylands manuscript are the following:

1. A fragmentary thirty-part Qur'an divided among the following institutions: Chester Beatty Library Ms 1609 V: 25-7; 41-2,⁴⁶ Ex-Spinks Ms (24.4.80 Lot 59) V:55, Cincinnati Museum of Art, V: 32-3, Metropolitan Museum Ms 62.152.8., IV: 158-9, Boston

Museum of Fine Arts Ms. 24.416.

This is an unusual and interesting Qur'an written in script like the Rylands manuscript with a Persian translation and finely produced kufic inscriptions over arabesques around each page.

2. Chester Beatty Library Ms 1458.⁴⁷ Juz' 21 from a multi-part Qur'an.

3. Chester Beatty Library Ms 1487.⁴⁸ Fragmentary Qur'an containing V: 86 to VI: 185.

b) Illumination: Each juz' begins with a petalled rosette bearing intersecting geometric compositions . It is an idea which became popular in later Iranian Qur'ans but at this time , the only dated manuscript which uses an opening rosette is the Qur'an produced in Meraghah around 1338 and divided between the Chester Beatty Library and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The opening pages of text in each part are fully illuminated in polychrome colours. Intersecting geometric compositions , as we have seen , were very popular in Baghdad at the beginning of the fourteenth century. 39.2

On the opening pages of text the āyahs are in panels , which like the overall page have a horizontal axis. These central panels have two large arabesque-scroll blossoms , vividly coloured on a pink ground. Above in panels , which are usually slightly larger than the ones below, we see neat white inscriptions in thulth. 39.3
There are two ways of decorating these panels: separate motifs especially circles filled with strapwork ; irregular geometric shapes, often made from parts of circles filled with palmettes.

The most remarkable aspect of the decoration are the outer borders which occur on all three outer sides or only on the vert-

ical one. The latter consists of either a line of palmettes 39.4
or palmettes together with pear-shapes, and greatly exaggerate
the horizontal axis. Our researches have located only a single
contemporary parallel. This is found in a magnificent copy of
the Sahih of Al-Bukhari which is dated 694 / 1294 (Chester Beatty
Ms 4176). In 1383 this was in the mosque of Al-Ramla in Palestine
but its place of origin is unknown. In view of its huge size and
superb illumination we are inclined to attribute it to Baghdad
but this must be only tentative. The other tri-partite borders 39.5
are often in the form of arabesque scrolls which culminate in
palmettes prolonging the corners into points and giving an overall
'Baroque' effect.

Origins of the Rylands manuscript.

On two of the surviving ajzā' are the remains of barely legible
inscriptions which read as follows :

Endowed.... the noble abode.... Al-Sayfī -tamur⁴⁹ (Fig 22 a) 39.2

The name of the wāqif would appear to be a Mamluke emir , though
the manuscript itself is not Mamluke. There are no Mamluke Qur'ans
written in this script , and only one with a three-line page divi-
sion. No Mamluke Qur'ans are known with Persian or Turkish trans-
lations prior to the end of the fourteenth century. The illumination
is totally unlike that in any known Mamluke manuscript. Thus if
the waqfiyyah is a fourteenth century one it must have been attat-
ched to the manuscript after it came into the Mamluke area from
outside. The place from which it came was most probably an area
where both Turkish and Persian was spoken , or at least where people
would be familiar with both. The location can only be suggested as

we have no related manuscripts bearing the name of a location or certificate of commissioning. However, there are two Qur'ans with which the manuscript appears to have some links.

These are Ms 1458 in the Chester Beatty Library and Ms 314 in the Astan-i Quds Library, Meshhed. The former, Juz' 21 from a thirty-part Qur'an opens with a petalled medallion which is virtually identical to that at the beginning of Juz' 22 of the Rylands manuscript (Ms 768). The opening pages of text have a single line of a large thulth/muhaqqaq on ground of scrolls over a red hatched ground. Above and below are panels, the upper one being wider than the lower. The upper panel is divided into three parts, the two outer ones consisting of circles filled with strapwork. The text has three lines of script per page with a small inter-linear Persian translation in naskh. These elements are all similar to those in the Rylands manuscript, though the Chester Beatty juz' is much more restrained in style and overall appearance.

40.1

The second manuscript uses a variety of script similar to that in the two Qur'ans referred to above, though somewhat smaller in scale with a six- rather than three-line division of the page.

41.1

The Turkic inter-linear translation is in a script very close to that used for the translations in the Rylands Qur'an, written at an angle with the same sort of ligatures and peculiarities. It is not the same hand, but is quite close. There are also close links between the layout and decoration of this manuscript and those of Chester Beatty Ms 1485: the surah-headings in particular are

40.2

almost identical in both colour-schemes (red-gold, brilliant green and dark-blue) and design. This is one of the few manuscripts with a detailed colophon telling us in both Arabic and Chagatay:

41.2

This Final , Clear Book , with translation and commentary was 41.3
 completed by the slave in need of the mercy of God, Oppulent ,
 Omniscient , Muhammad bin Shaykh al-Ābārī (bin Ābār ?)⁵⁰, known
 among his companions as 'Sayyid al-Khattāt'⁵¹, after great effort
 and painful torment , transcribing from a faulty copy and worthless
 tract , which has been corrected as far as possible, in various
 tongues, with aid of the Rewarding Monarch , 10 Ramādān 737 / 14
 April 1337,(Fig 22 b)

In view of the fact that there seem to be quite radical differences between these manuscripts and the other that we have examined from the first half of the fourteenth century , and in view of the Turkish element in the translations , we are inclined to ascribe these manuscripts - the Rylands and Meshhed manuscripts at least - to an area outside of Iran proper such as Central Asia or south-eastern Anatolia. The fact that the TIEM manuscript bearing a Turkic translation dated 1333-4 is copied by a person with the nisbah 'al-shīrāzī' need not indicate an Iranian origin for the other manuscripts examined. The TIEM manuscript is not related in terms of calligraphy, design and decoration. Secondly there is a manuscript in Konya , which we shall examine in the last chapter copied by someone with the nisbah 'al-sāvahjī' ('of Saveh') but which explicitly says that it was made in Konya.⁵² However, we should not entirely rule out an Iranian origin. The manuscripts could have been produced in somewhere like Khurasan.

Summary.

From Iraq and Iran during the second quarter of the fourteenth century we have a number of manuscripts that either form coherent groups , such as the Arghūn al-Kāmilī Qur'ans , or are an important landmark in the history of Qur'anic calligraphy and illumination at this time, like the Yahyā al-Sūfī manuscript.

They are not the only manuscripts. In the course of this study we have referred to several others , or shall do so in the remaining pages. Of these perhaps the most important is the Maraghah Qur'an of 1338.

These manuscripts enable us to form a picture of what was going on in places like Baghdad and Shiraz , and possibly in Tabriz too. Politically this period is a rather confused one , coinciding with the end of the Ilkhanids and the rise of the Jala'irid and Injuvid dynasties. It is perhaps not surprising that in the entire period we have only one manuscript that can be associated unquestionably with a historical personality. However we do know the names of two manuscript illuminators and in this respect we are more fortunate than historians of manuscript illustration who know the names of several painters in this period from historical sources, but no pictures bearing their signatures.

We are also aware , when examining these manuscripts, of the confusion that has arisen between Iranian and Mamluke Qur'ans in the first half of the fourteenth century. Some , like the Rylands manuscript , we believe we have clearly demonstrated cannot be Mamluke ; others like the Taizz Qur'an are complicated by the fact that Iranians were living in Cairo and quite possibly producing Qur'ans. We believe that on the basis of script and illumination

it is possible to differentiate the two types. However, when an Iranian calligrapher wrote and illuminated a manuscript in Cairo , unless we have documentary evidence , it is very difficult to prove this.

Chapter Six : The Qur'ans of Sultan Sha^cbān and Khwand Barakah,
Cairo, 1363-1376.

Having examined in detail Mamluke and Iranian/Iraqi Qur'ans up to the beginning of the second half of the 14th century we can now turn to what is unquestionably the great era of Qur'an production under the Mamlukes, the time of Sultan Sha^Cbān.

A substantial corpus of Qur'ans has survived from his reign, three of which can be directly associated with the sultan himself and three with his mother. There is at least one other manuscript, perhaps two, that are directly related to this group. It would be appropriate at this point to list all Qur'ans that can be associated with Sha^Cbān, whether by commission or endowment, his mother and emirs.

1. Cairo National Library, Ms 8.¹ Signed and dated 757/1356.
Endowed by Sha^Cbān to his mother's madrasah in the Khatt al-Tabbānah,
3 Dhu'l-Qa^Cdah 769/13 June 1368.
2. Chester Beatty Library, Ms K. 39.² Signed and dated Rajab 766/March 1365. Endowed by the Sultan's mother to her madrasah 15 Sha^Cbān 770/27 March 1369.
3. Cairo National Library, Ms 80.³ Unsigned and undated. Endowed by the Sultan's mother to her madrasah on the same date, 27 March 1369.
4. Cairo National Library, Ms 6.⁴ Unsigned and undated. Endowed by the Sultan's mother, Khwānd Barakah to her madrasah above on same date as 1., 13 June 1368.
5. Freer Gallery, Ms 30:55.⁵ Fragment, unsigned and undated.
6. Cairo National Library, Ms 7.⁶ Unsigned and undated. Endowed by Sha^Cbān to his mother's madrasah at the same time as 2 above 27 March,

1369.

7. Cairo National Library, Ms 54.⁷ Unsigned and undated. A partly erased waqfiyyah mentions Arghūn Shāh al-Ashrafī.

8. Cairo National Library, Ms 9.⁸ Unsigned and undated. Endowed by Sha^cbān to his mother's madrasah at the same time as 2 and 6 above, 27 March, 1369.

9. Cairo National Library, Ms 10.⁹ Signed and dated 15 Muharram 774/
18 July 1372. Endowed by Sha^cbān to his madrasah in the Khatt Bāb al-Wazīr, Muharram 778/May 1376.

10. Cairo National Library Ms 15.¹⁰ Signed and dated Dhu^cl-Qa^cdah 776/
April 1374. Commissioned by the Emir Sirghitmish.

These manuscripts can be divided into several groups. 2 and 3 are of little interest as the illumination in each is confined to the minimum. It is possible that both were commissioned by Khwānd Barakah, though in view of their rather mediocre appearance it seems more probable that they were acquired by purchase, requisition or confiscation. 4, 5, 6, and 7 are all, as we shall demonstrate closely related, 4, 5 and 7 being the work of the same artist or probably team of artists. To these we should add 1, which was copied - though not necessarily illuminated - some ten or more years previous to the aforementioned group, is certainly related, and needs to be considered with it. 8, 9 and 10 are undoubtedly the most interesting of all these manuscripts and are some of the few Mamluke Qur'ans after the first two decades of the century whose illuminator we know by name. As we shall also demonstrate it is possible to attribute

other manuscripts to this man.

Historical background to the commissioning and endowment of the
Shah^Cban and Khwand Barakah Qur'ans.

1. Madrasat Umm al-Sultan.

As is clear from a study of the waqfiyyahs, two institutions are involved. The first of these is the Madrasat Umm al-Sultan, also called the madrasah or mosque of Sultan Shah^Cban - a title that has led to some confusion.

According to the ¹¹Khitat of Maqrizi the madrasah in question was founded by Khwand Barakah near Bab al-Zuwaylah in the ¹²Khatt al-Tabbanah on a site previously occupied by a cemetery. This was reputedly in the year 771/1369-70. The building was equipped with a fountain and ablution pool and was used by the Hanafis and Shafi^Cis. In his assertion that the madrasah was founded by Khwand Barakah, Maqrizi appears to have been followed by all authorities ¹³ancient and modern. In fact the building was founded not by the Sultan's mother, but on her behalf by her son, Shah^Cban. This is made clear by an inscription carved on an octagonal ¹⁴panel and set in the wall inside the madrasah on the right of the door. It reads as follows:

Thanks be to God: the erection of this blessed madrasah was ordered by our Lord, the Sultan, al-Malik al-Ashraf, God Make him victorious for his mother May God accept them both. Whoever lays hands on this madrasah or its endowments will be punished by the Prophet - Peace and Praises be upon him - at the Day of Judgement. 'If anyone changes the bequest after hearing it, the guilt shall be on those who make the

change for God knows and hears all things' (Qur'an II, 181), (Fig 23).

Although the madrasah was supported by various waqfs established by Khwānd Barakah,¹⁵ the institution was put up at the expense of the young Sultan, as a gift for her. Some of the Qur'ans listed above were no doubt commissioned by the Sultan and his mother, while others were acquired by purchase, for endowment to the library of the madrasah. These manuscripts were endowed in two batches: the first 13 June 1368 when two Qur^cans were endowed, an earlier manuscript (1) and another which was almost certainly commissioned for the madrasah (4); the second on 27 March 1369 when four Qur'ans were deposited. Two of these were commissioned and two perhaps purchased.

One may wonder how these manuscripts could have been endowed to an institution which was not founded (insha'a) until 771. Particularly one like Cairo Ms 8 which had been around for twelve years. Could there have been any point in endowing them?

Maqrizi must have meant that the madrasah was opened in the year 771 and was sufficiently far enough advanced in building in 769 for the first endowment to take place. In fact there is an inscription on the door of the building which gives the date of building as 770, indicating that the work must have been well underway in 769.¹⁶

2. Madrasat al-Ashrafiyyah.

The Ashrafiyyah Madrasah, according to the information given the Khitat of ¹⁷Alī Pāshā, was founded by Sultan Sha^cbān in the year 770/1368-9. It was demolished in the time of Al-Nāsir Faraj (1398-1412) and the Māristān of Al-Mu^cayyid (1412-21) was eventually built on its site. In the time

of ^CAlī Pāshā only a doorway survived which was in the ^CAjam Takkiyyah in the Ra's al-Ramliyyah. It was this Ashrafiyyah Madrasah that was virtually ransacked by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ustadār in 810/1407-8 when most of its Qur'ans were taken from there to Jamāl al-Dīn's new madrasah in the Bāb al-^CId. These manuscripts, described in some detail by Maqrīzī,¹⁸ and certainly including some of the works in our list, were sold 'for a song' by Sha^Cbān's son ^CAlī. Among these Qur^Cans were others by Yāqūt and Ibn al-Bawwāb. We shall have more to say about these when we come to deal with the third group of manuscripts on our list.

The Manuscripts : Group I

These are of little artistic merit and need not detain us long. It is interesting that although the manuscripts commissioned by Sha^Cbān and his mother were of the highest order, they were prepared to accept much inferior material too.

In appearance the Chester Beatty manuscript is simple, almost mundane. It has thirteen lines of muhaqqaq to the page (53 x 38 cm.) and was copied by Mahmūd bin Husayn al-Shāfi^Cī in March 1365. The Qur'an ends with a long prayer written by the copyist.¹⁹ On the opening folio there is a roughly painted rosette with floral decoration bearing Al-Wāqī^Cah 77-8 and having above and below the waqfiyyah of Khwānd Barakah.

42.1

42.2

The text of the opening pages are written on grounds of fragmentary arabesques. Around the central panel, and those above and below, is a band of unusual strapwork. It differs slightly from one page to the other but consists of a simple 'S' shape divided by hexagonal pieces. The earliest Mamluke example of this 'S' shape strapwork occurs in the

ex-Southeby page of 1307 and the TIEM manuscript of circa 1340, though it is a relatively common decorative motive in Ayyubid and early Mamluke metalwork. It is however extensively used in the manuscripts illuminated by Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī.

We also find it used in Cairo Ms 80 which is one of the few thirty part Qur'ans made at this time. Only a small number of ajza' could 43.1 be examined but in these the text of the opening pages was written on ground similarly decorated and surrounded with 'S' type strapwork. Marginal medallions in both this and the Chester Beatty manuscript are similar and the Qur'an has the same 'utilitarian' look about it. It was probably made around the same time as the Beatty Qur'an. Its main interest lies in the fact that it is a rare thirty-part Qur'an among the Khwānd Barakah and Sha^cbān manuscripts.²⁰

The Manuscripts : Group II.

For reasons that will become apparent it is best to begin our survey of this group with a manuscript that strictly speaking is not a part of it:

1. National Library Cairo Ms. 8.

It is the earliest Qur'an among those known to have been endowed to the royal madrasahs. It consists of 413 pages of black muhaggaq, eleven lines on each (73 x 50 cm.). The opening and closing folios are written 44.1 in gold, a method that was used for most of the manuscripts in group 2, but one which was in fact quite rare among Mamluke Qur'ans. To our knowledge it occurs only the Qur'an dated 1330 in the Keir Collection, Ms. V11,9.

On the final folio, in a curious trapizodal frame is the colophon which

reads as follows:

This Glorious Qur'an (Jāmi^C) was written with the help of God and his care by Ya^Cqūb bin Khalīl bin Muhammad bin ^CAbd al-Rahmān al-Hanafī in 757/1356, (Fig. 24).

It bears no contemporary waqfiyyah, but in view of its magnificence must have been destined for an important mosque or madrasah established around the year in which the text was completed. In the year in question both the madrasah of the emir Sirghitmish was founded and the famous mosque of Sultan Hasan was begun. As is suggested in the catalogue of the Hayward Gallery exhibition, the most likely explanation is that the Qur'an was originally commissioned by Sultan Hasan for his mosque.²¹ The Sultan died before the completion of the mosque and the endowment of the Qur'an. Sha^Cbān as the successor of Hasan inherited - or was able to purchase - the manuscript for his mother's foundation. This is not the only possibility.

Typologically the decoration of the manuscript - particularly of the opening pages comes exactly mid-way between the Bastan Museum Qur'an of 1339 and manuscript of group 2 proper. The Bastan manuscript is the first example we have of the 'classic' Mamluke frontispiece, which achieved its most perfect expression in the Arghūn Shāh Qur'an. There must have been others between 1339 and 1356 but none has been published.

Analysis of the Ornament.

The opening illuminated pages are divided into three main areas: a 44.2
large central panel, square in shape, containing a twelve-armed star-polygon

barely separated from four others which repeat in the corners of the square. Above and below are rectangular cartouches bearing in white thulth, Al-Wāqī^Cah 77-8, outlined in gold, over gold arabesques on blue. Around are bands of decoration culminating in a border of alternating palmettes and lotuses.

The central square.

This can be broken down into three parts: the geometric 'trellis'; the centre-piece; the fillers.

i) The 'trellis' consists of a central twelve-armed star-polygon whose arms are separated from those in the four corners by long narrow lozenge-ended rectangles. It is exactly the same design as that in the frontispiece of Cairo Ms 6 and the Freer Gallery pages, both of which date from about a decade later.

The design is used by the artist of the Ilkhanid Qur'an commissioned from Hamadan in circa 1313 by Sultan Öljaytū and occurs in the frontispiece of Juz'13. This could - and in ordinary circumstances certainly would - be used to demonstrate the influence of that manuscript on Cairo artists. However this can be shown not to be the case. The Qur'an in 5.9 the TIEM illuminated by Aydughdī bin ^CAbdallah uses precisely this design for the frontispiece of the text. As this was painted in Cairo around 1313, ten years or more before the appearance of the Hamadan Qur'an in Cairo it clearly cannot be used as evidence for Ilkhanid influence, as Mamluke painters were aware of the use of this design for Qur'an illumination earlier.

ii) The fillers consist of either palmettes pointing outwards from the 44.3 centre or, in the hexagons, whirling shamsahs. The same shamsahs are used in later examples of this design; in the Freer manuscript and in

Cairo Ms 6. This is one of the earliest recorded uses of the device in manuscript illumination of Mamluke times. As far as we can tell, it first makes its appearance in Islamic manuscripts of the fourteenth century in the Qur'an copied in Maraghah, Iran, in 1338, where we find it used on the opening pages of text to the juz' in the Chester Beatty²² Library.

iii) The centre-piece of the polygon is rather unusual in that it is not a net- or fret-type preferred by later painters, but a vegetal one in the form of a wreath with leaves projecting into the points of the polygon. This is a rather rare type. It is never used by the Sandal artists who always prefer a palmette or arabesque, while the fret-type or linked palmettes are found in the Sha^Cbān period Qur'ans. It is quite unknown in Iranian or Iraqi work, though it does occur in Ms 447 in the TIEM in a Qur'an dated 1314, which we have early described and suggested may possibly be of Syrian origin.²³

Above and below the central square are rectangular panels with inscriptions in simple white thulth (Al-Wāqī^Cah 77-8). These inscriptions are on oval cartouches on a richly decorated ground of chinoiserie, gold lotuses, peonies and leaves on gold. The same type of decoration occurs in the border running around the three panels. This type of lotus decoration has a large fleshy leaf, somewhat elongated because of the limitations of space, but which appears to be derived from the pad or leaf of the lotus. In this it differs from the lotus decoration of the Sha^Cbān period where lotus blossoms always seem to be incorporated with peony leaves. It is however similar to the lotus decoration of the Bastan Qur'an. The strapwork of the opening pages is identical to that of several of the later Sha^Cbān period manuscripts, as indeed are the

barrow borders of white double-links behind the final outer border.

This white edging is used in preference to the more conventional edging of broken lines and dashes.

The outer border contains a double palmette alternating with a very stylised lotus bud or blossom. In this border we find the only other colours of the page - red, green and black - the remainder being painted entirely in blue and gold.

In the margin is a fine circular medallion, bearing arabesques and a lotus bud. This is one of the very first examples of a type which was extensively used in the later manuscripts of the 1360's. It is derived from medallions made up of arabesque patterns, usually with irregular outlines, such as we see in the Bastan manuscript, and which were an Iraqi or Iranian technique,²⁴ never used by the Mamlukes before the 1330's. By this time the medallions had become entirely circular in shape and the palmette interiors, such as we see in the Bastan manuscript had begun to break up into arabesque scrolls which conform in pattern to the circular border.

Within the body of the text of the manuscript surah headings consist of simple panels with the title and verse count in fine large white thulth, with a medallion bearing a lotus at one end. The basmallah and the first line of text are written in gold outlined in black, which is a novel feature, rarely found elsewhere. Each page is surrounded by a blue and gold border which encompasses the entire text. This is quite common in Ilkhanid manuscripts, but rare among the Mamlukes.

44.4

A final point of interest in this manuscript is that on the opening pages of text, Fatihah and Baqarah are written over red lotus flowers on a red hatched ground. This use of lotuses for the background of the

44.1

opening verses, does not to our knowledge appear before this date in Mamluke Qur'ans. It does however occur in the Ilkhanid Qur'an copied by Mubarak-Shah bin ^CAbdallah which was in Cairo at this time, having been endowed to the mosque of Sirghitmish in 1356.

The waqfiyyah

Unlike many fourteenth century Mamluke Qur'ans the waqfiyyah (which of course is not contemporary, but dates from twelve years later) is elegantly and legibly written in the form of a long document on the first page. It has been produced with considerable care, and resembles more a certificate of commissioning than a waqfiyyah. It seems to have been the work of a professional calligrapher, rather than a religious dignitary charged with drawing up the document. It reads as follows:

This is an endowment of our Lord, the high estate, the noble, the high, the lordly, the sultan, the imam, the learned the holy warrior, the murabit, lord of the marches, the fortified, the chief, the possessor, the royal, the most noble, the victorious, Nasir al-Dunya wa 'l-Din sultan of Islam and the muslims, destroyer of the unbelievers and the polytheists, refuge of the oppressed from the oppressors, conqueror of the deviants and athiests, Abu 'l-Muzaffar Sha^Cban, May God prolong his kingdom and sultanate and bestow on his subjects all his justice and bounty and grant him victory every day and give him dominion over the Earth on land and sea, son of our Lord, the noble abode, al-Jamali,
25
Husayn, son of our Lord the sultan, the happy, the martyr, the monarch, Al-Nasir Muhammad, son of our Lord the sultan, the happy, the martyr, the monarch Al-Mansur Qalaun, May God grant them His mercy, this Holy

Qur'an, as a legal endowment, that muslims may benefit from it, by reading it and in all other legal ways. It is decreed that it be kept in the madrasah on the outskirts of Cairo, in the Khatt al-Tabbānah and should not be removed from the aforementioned place, except in return for a bond equal to its value. The endower will be responsible for it all the days of his life and after his death it will be the responsibility of whoever administers the endowment. Monday 3 Dhu'l-Qa^cdah 769/ 13 June 1369, (Fig. 25)

The manuscript, according to this waqfiyyah, was endowed by the Sultan, not to his own foundation but to that of his mother. Although she is not mentioned in the inscription, the madrasah in the Khatt al-Tabbānah can be no other than that.

The text is interesting in that unlike many other waqfiyyahs which are very strict in their conditions, this one does permit the Qur'an to be removed from its location on payment of a monetary bond. Normally Qur'ans could not be removed - those at least are the conditions of all earlier Mamluke waqfiyyahs. However in some madrasahs and khānqāhs, although rules could be strict, even to the extent of stopping the negligent from consulting them, and recording the names of all readers,²⁶ it was possible for books to be removed from the library on payment of a sum double their value. In the case of the khānqāh dervishes were permitted to take books to their cells for consultation without payment. Thus, in one way, the permitting of this manuscript's removal from the madrasah was part of general practise. On the other hand, the value would have been considerable, if we recall that a fine Qur'an at the beginning of the century would have been worth 1,600 dinars, and so

this condition of making a bond - may only have been a different method of ensuring that the Qur'an was not removed.

2. National Library, Cairo Mss 6, 7 and 54.

We can now turn to the manuscripts of group II proper, to which as we shall see Cairo Ms 8 is closely related. The earliest of this group is most probably Cairo Ms 6 which was endowed to the Umm al-Sultān Madrasah at the same time as the aforementioned Qur'an. This was endowed not by Sha^cbān but by his mother as we can see by the waqfiyyah:

The high abode, the protected, the vielded, Khwānd Barakah, mother of the noble estate, the greatest, the sultan, al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu'l-Muzaffar Sha^cbān, God Make his kingdom eternal, and Protect her person, has endowed this Noble Book as a true legal endowment that all muslims may benefit by reading it and other legal uses. She has declared that the place of this shall be the madrasah, which is known as her foundation and building on the outskirts of Cairo in the Khatt al-Tabbānah. She has declared that it should not be removed from this place except on payment of bond equivalent to its value. She will be responsible for it all the days of her life, and after her death the responsibility will devolve on whoever she appoints to administer the endowment. 3 Dhu'l-Qadah 769/ 13 June 1368. (Fig. 26).

The inscription specifically mentions the madrasah in the Khatt al-Tabbānah and names Khwānd-Barakah as the founder, though as we have seen, strictly speaking this is not true. As in the case of the previous

manuscript the removal of the Qur'an is permitted on payment of a bond.

This Qur'an is not dated so we have no idea how long may have elapsed between the completion of the work and the act of endowment. The fact is, that in both Groups II and III, the dated manuscripts which we know were endowed at the same time were completed several years before the waqfiyyahs were completed. However as the Qur'ans are of such outstanding quality and as we know for certain that in the third group one, at least, was produced during the reign of Sultan Sha^cbān, the chances are that this Qur'an and the other two in group II were made between Sha^cbān's ascension and the date of endowment.

Of the two other manuscripts, one bears a waqfiyyah dated about a year later (Cairo Ms 7), the other has a partly obliterated inscription (Cairo Ms 54) mentioning Arghūn Shāh al-Ashrafī. It is our belief that all three manuscripts despite the fact that different patrons commissioned each one, are from the same source. Probably the same calligrapher is involved as well as a group of at least two, probably more, painters. It is also our belief that these three manuscripts are the culmination of a tradition in Qur'an production that goes back to the 1330's, and probably before, though the first example of this 'classic' style that we have come across is the Bastan Museum Qur'an of 1339. The third group of Qur'ans, on the other hand, which are in many ways even finer, represent something quite separate and must be considered as such.

Chronology.

The exact order of production of the three manuscripts is hard to determine. The date on the waqfiyyah indicates that Cairo Ms 6 was finished first. As Cairo Ms 7 is technically a little more advanced than the

Arghūn Shāh Qur'an it is probably the latest. The chronology is not important and the chances are that two or perhaps all were being illuminated at the same time; that is, work on all of them over-lapped. This would be even more likely if two calligraphers were involved. It also means that we cannot be certain of the exact time taken to illuminate the manuscripts. We should be wary of accepting the time between the dates of the two waqfiyyahs on Cairo Mss 6 and 7 since we have no idea when the text of No 6 was completed.

The Freer Gallery page, to which we shall have occasion to refer is of a similar type to the above, somewhat simplified. However the published pages, purporting to be from this manuscript look as if they may date from the very end of the century.

Calligraphy.

In view of the exceptionally high quality of script and illumination in these manuscripts it is surprising that none is signed by the calligrapher. All use a large black muhaqqaq, eleven lines to the page, with the text 45.1 surrounded by a blue and gold border. The script of Fātiḥah and Baqarah is in gold outlined in black. The script of the final two surahs is also presented in this manner in Ms 7 and 54 though not in No 6 where it is in black. The scripts of 7 and 54 are an almost classic muhaqqaq and virtually identical. In Ms 6 the height of the alif is somewhat less than that of the opening pages of the other two manuscripts. Furthermore, in the main body of the text we find dots used under certain letters like sin though this practise - a common one in Mamluke manuscripts - is not followed in Mss 7 and 54. The chances are therefore that two calligraphers

rather than one were involved, though the differences between the scripts are not so great as to exclude the possibility of one man having produced all three.

The method of beginning a Qur'an with gold script outlined in black (tash^cīr) is one that from now on we associate with Mamluke Qur'ans. Prior to this period, however, there are only two known examples: the Cairo Ms of 1356 and Ms VII, 9 in the Keir Collection, which is dated 27 much earlier, 1330. Moreover, the large muhaggaq-jalī scripts used for the body of the text in these manuscripts, and Cairo Ms 8 is quite rare before the 1350's. Pages are outlined in the main text by a blue and gold line, a practise common enough among Ilkhanid and later Iranian manuscripts but rare in Mamluke ones. Only the Bastan Museum ms and TIEM 434, circa 1330, use it. Examination shows that these borders were painted after the text had been completed, but before other decoration was added.

Illumination: a) Surah headings.

These are rectangular in all cases with the rectangles divided up into compartments which are always interlocking and consist of regular or irregular geometric shapes. The artists have shown enormous ingenuity in producing different patterns. They bear the titles and verse-counts in white thulth (very occasionally, kufic). The design of these headings is paralleled in the panels at the tops and bottoms of the illuminated pages at the beginning and end of each Qur'an. Strapwork is sparingly used, preference being given to plain gold bands which surround both the rectangle and the interlocking interiors. Decoration of the headings always takes the form of gold palmettes, arabesques and chinoiserie

touched with blue or green over a red ground though a vivid turquoise is also introduced. The script is on a blue ground and over gold arabesques. These are some of the earliest examples of this colour scheme which was to become typical. The rather bizarre shapes of the headings however are found in other manuscripts notably Topkapi Ms 138-M5 dated 1341 and TIEM 434. This method of surah-heading division is quite different from the earlier Cairo Ms 8, 1356 and from the contemporary work of Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī. It also differs from those in Chester Beatty Ms K 39 where a much simpler and more archaic method appears. 45.2

At the end of each heading is a circular medallion attached by thin blue lines and decorated with lotuses and chinoiserie. Khamsa is in gold Kufic over gold scrolls in a red circle surrounded by a gold border with red and gold dots. At the top is a pine-cone point reminiscent slightly of those in the Sandal manuscripts. The whole is surrounded by a blue line with stunted 'fingers' that occur first in the Bastan manuscript of 1339. Ashara is a gold rosette in a gold border with a chinoiserie exterior and is a type not noted elsewhere. 45.3

b) The Frontispieces.

Frontispieces and, where they exist, the finispieces are the major 'piece-de resistance' in the work of any illuminator. These are no exception and are of outstanding magnificence: perhaps the finest Mamluke work in the traditional manner. 45.4

In overall appearance the frontispieces of the three Qur'ans are similar: a square geometric trellis with surrounding chinoiserie border, inscriptions in cartouches above and below and a palmette/lotus border. 46.2

47.1

The trellis designs.

In each case the trellis originates in a central star-polygon, twelve-armed in the Freer and Cairo Ms 6 examples, sixteen-armed in the case of Ms 54 and 7. The design of both the first two is identical to that of Cairo Ms 8, which as we have seen can be traced back to Mamluke Qur'ans to 1313 and therefore is not evidence of the influence of the Öljaytü Qur'an, though this pattern exists there too. The sixteen-armed polygons result in trellises which are not in fact the same. However both are 'closed' in the sense that the pattern - unlike the earlier 1313 one - does not 'expand' beyond the confines of the frame because no part repeats in the four corners. In this they follow the design on the opening illuminated pages of the Bastan manuscript of 1339 where the corners are 'sealed' by lotuses. If we look for parallels in the Öljaytü Qur'an, and indeed in all previous Iranian and Iraqi examples we find that the situation is as follows. There is no exact pattern for the trellis design of Mss 7 and 54. The sixteen-armed polygon is itself rare, occurring only in the work of ²⁸Alī bin Muhammad al-Husaynī al-^cAlawī in the Mosul Qur'an of 1307-11 for Öljaytü, and 15.2 there in a quite different composition to the ones used here. The only parallel that we have been able to find is in a twelve-armed polygon in the Hamadan Qur'an, Ajzā' 6,8,13,28 where the patterns involved are closed rather than expanding ones. In short, we really do not have in these manuscripts much evidence for the influence of the Öljaytü Qur'an of 1313-14 in the design of the central trellis.

c) The fillers.

In Cairo Ms 6 these are close to those of Cairo Ms 8, i.e. large oval 45.3

palmettes in the polygon arms, whirling shamsahs in the octagons and ordinary palmettes in the 4 half-hexagons. The earlier manuscript has lotus flowers in the areas between the hexagons whereas in Cairo Ms 6 employ palmettes, but apart from this the decoration is similar. The difference between the two is the introduction of colour in some areas. Whirling shamsahs and a similar oval palmette are used as fillers in the trellis of Cairo Ms 54, coloured in the same manner, but because the design is more elaborate it needs more fillers and thus some 46.3 of these are new. At the point between each arm of the star-polygon is an eight-sided figure bearing an arabesque palmette in gold on brown, rather like some which appear in the 1313 Hamadan Qur'an but more elaborate.

In Cairo Ms 7 the trellis is smaller than those of the previous Manuscripts because the surrounding border has been enlarged and here 47.2 the fillers are virtually confined oval palmettes.

d) The centre-pieces.

In each case centre-pieces are different. Those of Mss 6 and 7 are made up of linked palmettes whose tendrils form a central star which is left white. In Ms 54 this idea has been taken further. The palmettes are replaced entirely by a knotted fret. This is not a new departure since the same method was used in the earlier Bastan Qur'an. We do see something similar in several of the Hamadan Qur'an illuminations, but the treatment is much freer and lacks the rigid precision of the Mamluke examples.

At this point it is worth comparing the design of these Qur'ans of earlier times. In manuscripts of the Sha^Cbān period the star-polygon

and surrounding trellis is always in a square. This gives the pages a very rigid and tightly-controlled appearance and this feeling is increased when the designs are 'closed' off at the corners. In the work of Sandal, Aydughdī and Ahmad al-Mutatabbib, among others, of the first forty years of the century, compositions based on polygons - whether or not they had arms - were often within rectangular rather than square borders. Indeed one of the most popular compositions was of exactly this type.²⁹ Where polygon-based compositions are put into a square frame, as happens sometimes in the work of Sandal they are never 'closed' as are the later ones. In the earlier works the overall treatment and appearance is much looser and freer, with a strong tendency in the compositions of Sandal to consider the fillers as little virtuoso pieces in their own right, something that never happens in the manuscripts described above.

e) The chinoiserie borders.

Chinoiserie occurs in Mamluke decoration for the first time in the kursī³⁰ of Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad dated 1327 and in Qur'ans in the Bastan manuscript of 1339. Chinoiserie means primarily naturalistically drawn lotus flowers in conjunction with peony flowers and leaves.

In the case of Cairo Ms 6 and 54 chinoiserie borders surround the central panel and in all three manuscripts we find that the penultimate outer border is made up of the same. Three types of lotus flowers occur in the manuscripts and these are painted, white, blue and white, green and green and white. Either the swollen seed pod is shown or the open blossom. These are the first examples of lotus blossoms coloured in this manner, on a large scale, that we know of. The Bastan Qur'an

45.6
46.4

employs only four at the corners of each half of the opening frontispiece. In conjunction with these lotuses are three types of rosette which could be taken perhaps for open lotus blossoms shown from above but should be considered stylised peony flowers. Two types of peony are shown in Chinese art,³¹ from where the Mamluke examples ultimately derive. The ordinary peony (Paeonia albiflora) which has frilled petals and narrow straight leaves and the Moutan or Tree Peony (Paeonia suffruticosa) in which the leaves are larger, jagged, and three to a stem.³² It is the later, the 'King of Flowers', which appears in Mamluke art, since although the flowers are stylised the leaves bear more resemblance to the second type than the former. The only other plant which appears is found Cairo Ms 6 where something resembling the sagittarius,³³ an aquatic three-pronged plant, appears to be represented. This is always depicted in Chinese art in association with the lotus, as here.

f) The inscription panels.

Inscription panels at the top and bottom of each page resemble those of the surah headings though with the exception of those on Cairo Ms 54 are nowhere as complex. They comprise two or three lobed cartouches on a single multi-lobed cartouche. All of the types occur among the surah headings.

The cartouches bear an unusual and distinctive form of kufic. Although 47.1 certain individual peculiarities can be detected between the script of 45.4 Ms 54 and that of 6 and 7, there are a number of features common to all: 46.2

1. The serrating of the edges and ends of letters to make them look like human hands and feet.

2. The lengthening and swelling out of the letters rā', wāw, nūn and all others with semi-circular strokes below the line.

3. The use of an additional extension stroke on the kāf which bends back towards the left and often swells at the end.
4. The tendency to make the final nūn, sīn, etc., curl up into a tendril.

There are few Mamluke forms which are as Baroque and idiosyncratic as these examples, though all of the kufic scripts in the manuscripts examined have their individualistic features: it was one of the areas where artists felt free to introduce their personal contributions. Nothing as elaborate as this appears in later Bahrī Mamluke work and that of Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī appears quite 'classic' by comparison.

The kufic inscriptions in all three Qur'ans is the same: Al-Shu^carā' 192-7. This is a fairly familiar piece with illuminators, but by no means common in the fourteenth century, where as always the most popular verses were Al-Wāqī^cah 77-8. It is interesting to recall, first, that in the work of the first identifiable group of Mamluke illuminators Sandal and his associates, they used verses on the opening illuminated pages of the Qur'an of Baybars al-Jāshankīr that were not the typical ones and secondly that when they did utilise one particular verse, as several manuscripts demonstrate, this was also not a particularly common one: Fussilat 41-2. Thus in a group of unquestionably related manuscripts we find a situation parallel to the one we have in the Sha^cbān Qur'ans and may deduce from this certain āyahs had an especial significance in certain groups or studios, whether simply as 'trademarks' or for more complex reasons is impossible to say.

In this context we should point out that the Freer Gallery page which we have considered as being related to this group appears to contradict the above situation as it bears a quite different series of verses.

However the Freer pages are not from the beginning of the manuscript and therefore our remarks do not apply.

Cairo Ms 7 has an additional bank of inscriptions in place of the central chinoiserie border. It is contained in eight oval cartouches alternating with large peonies. The cartouches contain Fātir 29-30 on the righthand page and 31-2 on the left. These verses go in an anti-clockwise direction beginning at the bottom left, though it is not continued all the way around as those lines at the bottom would have to have been written upside down and for reasons esthetic, and probably religious, this was not done. This idea should probably be considered something of an innovation since the number of Mamluke and Iranian Iraqi Qur'ans which introduce lengthy quotations such as Āyat al-Kursī are extremely rare. We find one on the frontispiece of the TIEM Qur'an 430 supposedly by Yahyā al-Sūfī, while another, perhaps Syrian in the Chester Beatty Library, Ms 1455, incorporates the entire Surat al-Nās. Apart from these we have come across no other example.

47.1

g) Strapwork.

On the opening pages of all three manuscripts strapwork is of the simplified type in which knots alternate with squares and which was introduced in the 1330's Cairo Ms 7 stands somewhat apart from the other two Qur'ans as strapwork is not used on the opening page of illumination. Instead a chain of gold blossoms enlivened with green, on a gold ground, encircle the three main panels. The strapwork of Ms 54 consists of a knot with loop at each end, while that used in Ms 6 consists of three knots side by side. However the knot and loop strapwork of Ms 54 does occur in the opening pages of text in Ms 6 and around the surah headings

46.5

45.7

and is also found on the opening text pages of Ms 7 and on the Freer Gallery pages. The earliest example of this type interestingly is found on Cairo Ms 8 of 1356.

The fact that all three manuscripts make wide use of the same type of strapwork is of some importance. Although often magnificent virtuoso pieces of work were produced - in the Baybars Qur'an of 1304-5 for example - strapwork was a complicated, laborious, and time-consuming method. It was for this reason that the simplified strapwork with squares was presumably introduced.

The method of producing strapwork designs consisted of making a series of dots and then joining them up with lines to give the effect of interlace. There were probably quick methods of doing this, taught by artists to their apprentices. Strapwork is one of the areas where one could expect to find a certain amount of standardisation in studios to enable the process of illumination to be carried out a little quicker. Such evidence that we have suggests that this may have been the case. Apart from the example of this group of manuscripts in the period of Sha^cbān, there is another example in the work of Sandal, Ayduḡhdī and Ahmad al-Mutatabbīb covering a period 1304 to 1334 where a simple double knot is used for strapwork bands. These three are artists among whom certain links can be shown to have existed.

h) Edging.

Edging is mostly of the conventional type that we come upon for the first time in the ex-Sotheby pages of 1307 consisting of a pattern made up of broken lines. In Cairo Mss 6 and 7 however we come upon quite a different type far less frequently used. It is white in colour and

comprises double overlapping links, like simple strapwork. Its first 45.5
recorded appearance is in Cairo Ms 8 of 1356. As far as our researches
can tell it appears to be a characteristic of these manuscripts as no
later examples have so far appeared. The only other border is a plain
gold one.

i) Borders.

The border of Cairo Ms 6 is made up of a double palmette, lower green, 45.6
upper red. These alternate with a white lotus bud. A similar idea
was used in the earlier 1356 Qur'an, but in the case of the later manu-
script the double palmette is upside down - that is pointing in the
opposite direction to the lotus bud. The smaller palmette with its
leaves folded inwards and red interior occurs in the border of the Freer
pages and in border of the opening pages of text of Cairo Ms 54. But
the borders of the latter manuscript on the opening illuminated ones,
and those of Cairo Ms 7 are very different. In each the outstanding 47.1
features are white lotus buds alternating with confronted tri-lobed
leaves or blossoms that we first notice in Ilkhanid work. The lotus
buds are at the centre of ogival shapes which in the case of Ms 54 are 46.6
formed by the extended lines of palmettes, and in the case of Ms 7 by
white shield-shapes painted around the lotus and actually detached from
the palmettes.

j) The marginal medallions.

In the circular medallions there is much less room for manoeuvre and
all three examples follow the same pattern: gold arabesques around a
lotus bud. Those medallions in Cairo Ms 7 are perhaps the most 47.3
adventurous, with parts of the arabesque scroll-work picked out in red.

k) Decoration on other pages.

The layout of the opening and closing pages of text further emphasises the links between the three manuscripts. The inscription panels in all cases consist of two types: a tri-lobed central cartouche flanked by quatrefoils (opening pages of Ms 54 and 7) ; a lobed central cartouche with flanking polygons (closing pages of Mss 6 and 54 and opening pages of 6). Most decorative features employed are also used on the opening illuminated ones and therefore need little comment. The following are worthy of comment. The outer borders are very narrow in relation to those on the opening pages and their decoration always consists of single conventional palmettes, never the elaborate arabesque type alternating with tri-lobed buds (Mss 7, 54 and 6) or lotus blossoms (Ms 6) or lotus buds (Ms 54). This method was followed in Mamluke Qur'ans from the 1340's, but much earlier in Iranian and Iraqi manuscripts. However it is not the method followed by Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī in his two finest works.

46.7
47.4
46.8

Blue finial spikes both here and on the opening illuminated pages are one area where artists tended to follow the same formula over and over again. In Mss 7 and 54 the identical method is used around the Fātihah and Baqarah pages.

Summary.

After looking at all manuscripts in this group we can summarise our findings as follows:

1. The details of illumination in the three main Qur'ans under discussion indicate that although they are not the work of a single individual, they are the work of a team of artists - painters and

calligraphers - almost certainly working together. Quite likely some of the manuscripts - 7 and 54 - were being worked on at the same time. The location of the atelier was Cairo, (where is unknown) and the members were able to undertake commissions for people other than the sultan and his mother.

2. Two calligraphers were probably involved, one producing Ms 6 and the other Mss 7 and 54.

3. There are enough links between Ms 8 and some of the later manuscripts to make us believe that one of the artists may have been the painter of the 1356 Qur'an. This would account for a certain continuity of style. It may also partly explain how that manuscript came into the hands of Sultan Sha^cbān.

4. In much the same way as the building of the khānqāh of Baybars al-Jāshankīr in 1305 seems to have brought into existence a team of craftsmen to produce a superb work of art in the British Library Baybars Qur'an, so too the activities of Sha^cbān in the 1360's did the same. This is one of the largest single groups of Mamluke Qur'ans produced for one patron in one place that we know of.

5. This was not a flowering of creative talent that occurred 'out of the blue'. There is very little in these Qur'ans that is new. Almost all features can be found in earlier Mamluke work. Contrary to what is usually said about these manuscripts, the influence of earlier Ilkhanid Qur'ans is not very great. What is new about these manuscripts is the superb quality, size and magnificence. Though even these features are to some extent foreseen in the 1339 Bāstan Qur'an. However it is apparent that no expense was spared by the patrons on obtaining the finest manuscripts ever made.

Chapter Seven : The Sha^cbān Qur'ans, Group III. The work of Ibrahim
al-Āmidī.

The third group of manuscripts is by far the most interesting. Apart from the fact that the illumination is quite inovatory by comparison with what has gone before in Egypt, and quite clearly belongs to an entirely different tradition of painting, the name of the illuminator is given, making him the only Qur'an illuminator whose name we know after the last recorded work of Aydughdī bin ^cAbdallāh in 1320, with the probable exception of Ahmad al-Matatabbib who, as we have postulated, was also most probably an illuminator as well as a scribe.

The two Qur'ans in the National Library, Cairo Nos 9 and 10 are both the work of the same illuminator, Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī. This can be proven, as we shall show, on stylistic grounds. It was first pointed out by Martin Lings, though to my knowledge, not in print. It is our contention that Ibrāhīm was the artist of a series of manuscripts, several of which have not been regarded as being by him before. As this portion of our argument is perhaps the most controversial part of this study it is important initially to examine the one manuscript which was actually signed by him. Only careful stylistic analysis of this Qur'an, Cairo No. 10 can provide the evidence for our contention.

1. National Library, Cairo, Ms. 10.

Cairo Ms 10 which has been exhibited recently outside of Egypt on two occasions was completed by the calligrapher on the 15 Muharram 774 - as we can see from the colophon - a particularly imposing one - which occurs directly opposite to Surat al-Nās:

This Noble Qur^can (mukarram)¹ was completed by on the 15th of Muharram 774/12th July 1372 at the hands of the poorest of God's creatures and

most in need of forgiveness, ^CAlī bin Muhammad al-Muktib al-Ashrafī, thanking God for his blessing and purity and praying for the Prophet and his Companions, (Fig. 27).

This copyist is not known elsewhere, though a superb practitioner of the art of calligraphy. His name 'al-muktib', (which is sometimes written 'al-mukattib')² can be interpreted as the 'teacher of writing', while the appellation al-ashrafī means a mamluke or servant of the sultan Al-Ashraf Sha^Cbān.

Although this fine manuscript has been known since being described and reproduced by Bourgoïn at the end of the last century it was not until the Qur'an Exhibition in London, 1976, that its importance became apparent. The text consists of 217 pages of exquisite black muhaggaq with rather unusual placing of the diacriticals, thirteen lines to the page (72.8 x 52). The flattening of the curvilinear strokes is very pronounced, being bent almost at a right-angle. Another characteristic is the separation of the extension stroke of the kāf and the addition of a tiny kufic letter kāf. A green dot, as in Maghribi manuscripts, appears over hamzat al-wasl. Letters added for reading purposes are in red and blue.

48.1

Inscriptions.

On the opening page we find a magnificent waqfiyyah written in riqā^C in a pink multi-lobed medallion on a ground covered with arabesques and cicada-shapes. The text reads as follows:

Our lord, the highest abode, the sultan, the possessor, the royal Al-Ashraf Abu 'l-Muzaffar Sha^Cbān bin Husayn son of the martyr, the late, our lord the sultan the royal Al-Nāsir Muhammad son of our lord the

royal Al-Mansūr Qalāun al-Sālihī, may God reward them both with His mercy, has endowed all this Noble Qur'an as a legal true endowment to find favour with his Lord and has declared that its location and place of reading should be in the Ashrafiyyah Khānqāh-Madrasah-Mosque, known as the foundation of the noble abode, opposite to the Mansūrah Citadel in Cairo. He declared that he will be responsible for it all the days of his life, then after him it will be entrusted to the person responsible for the affairs of the Khānqāh. Muharram 778/May-June 1376, (Fig. 28).

The manuscript was thus endowed to the Ashrafiyyah foundation, an account of which has already been given. The terms of endowment are more usual for Qur'ans of this type than the terms of manuscripts endowed to the Umm al-Sultān Madrasah, making no mention of conditions under which Qur'ans may be removed.

The waqfiyyah is dated some four years later than the completion of the text. This may seem an excessively long period but we should bear in mind that the former date refers only to the completion of the text and the illumination must have taken considerably longer. The waqfiyyah is clearly the work of the illuminator since it is identical in script decoration to the illuminator's colophon on the final folio to which we may now turn. It is rare to find a colophon so prominently displayed in Mamluke Qur'ans where, unlike Iran, illuminators were usually anonymous. The text of the colophon takes the form of a list of purely fanciful facts and figures regarding the text of the Qur'an:

The number of āyahs in the Endearing Book is 6,6,66⁴ of which 1000 are commands, 1000 denials, 1000 promises, 1000 narratives and 1000 proverbs; 500 tell what is permitted and what is forbidden, 100 are prayers and

supplications and 60 are abrogating and abrogated. The Prophet said: whoever honours a learned man, it is as if he honours seventy Prophets. The illumination of this Noble Qur'an was completed at the hands of God's weakest slave, Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī, May God forgive him etc. (Fig. 29)

It is our belief, and we shall show, that several other Qur'ans are illuminated by this artist. Among these is Cairo National Library Ms 15 which was completed in 776/1374 by order of one of Sha^Cbān's emirs, Sirghitmish. Work on this would have accounted for part of the time between 1372 and 1378. We must assume that work on other commissions prevented the completion of Cairo Ms No. 10 until 1378, though admittedly it seems odd that the Sultan's manuscript did not have priority. However relations between Sirghitmish and the Sultan were particularly close.⁵

The text pages.

Each page is surrounded by a border identical in appearance to the borders found in the Chester Beatty Qur'an K 39 of 1365 which consists of an elongated 'S' shape with loop at each end. The strap or ribbon-work is unpainted but the loops are red. There is no evidence of this type of work in any significant quantity before the Sha^Cbān period and we may consider it a part of the illuminator's repertoire only from this time. Surah headings for the most part have large vertical panels at each end and these give the numbers of the āyats and the number of letters in each surah. To arrange this there must have been agreement between calligrapher and illuminator so that the final words of each surah would be copied leaving a space at the sides. The titles are always in simple white kufic over gold arabesque fragments on orange/red, occasionally dark-blue

42.1

grounds. Surrounding borders are plain or gold strapwork after the fashion of the page border. Each surah heading has a fine polychrome medallion in the margin. The borders of these consist of brightly-coloured petals with interiors of a darker hue. The centre of each border is occupied by a blue hasp, often multi-lobed. This feature does not occur elsewhere. Marginal ornaments are rendered with exceptional vividness. Hizb, nisf-hizb and rub^C-hizb marks are in white kufic in lobed cartouches often comprising interlocking circles, with bright petalled borders. This marginalia sometimes has the curling bent petals that we find in earlier Ilkhanid work, or borders of linked palmettes like those in the work of Yahyā al-Sūfī's illuminator colleague and other Shiraz illuminators of the 1340's. The highly colourful appearance however, reminds one instantly of the work of Muhammad bin Aybak, the great Baghdadi master.

48.2

48.3

The opening pages of illumination.

The examination of the text pages which we have just undertaken indicates that we seem to be dealing with an artist of some originality and one who was familiar with other traditions, somewhat different from the painters of the Group II Qur'ans. All of these feelings are re-inforced when we come to examine the opening pages of illumination.

a.) The trellis.

The trellis is composed of decagons each of which encloses a pentagon. This is in itself unusual as the deployment of irregular geometric figures (i.e. pentagons) virtually precludes the possibility of unity of design which we would normally expect in Islamic pattern. Furthermore in trellis designs the usual method of construction is such that the interior is always linked physically to the outer frame. Here, many elements are independent and 'free-standing'.

48.4

The pentagons which are at the centres of the decagons on both pages are not aligned according to any defineable or discernable system, neither in the total double page composition, nor its constituent parts. The axes differ so that on the right hand page the axis of the central and lower left pentagon is not the same as the remainder and on the opposite page the lower right pentagon is out of axial alignment with the other four. Examination of the compositional structure will give numerous other examples of distortion and alteration. The result is that although the two pages have the superficial appearance of a piece of Islamic 'infinite' pattern it is the exact opposite - yet cleverly 'disguised'. One of the basic tenets of Islamic pattern is the idea that it mirrors somehow a greater whole: that it is only a section of an infinite pattern and can be extended accordingly. Numerous metaphysical ideas are believed to be - and undoubtedly are - involved in this form of pattern, whether consciously applied or not. The pattern of Cairo Ms 10 is not a pattern but a composition inspired by Islamic geometry, to which only the artist holds the key, - if indeed there is one.

In the work of earlier Mamluke Qur'an illuminators, notably Sandal⁷ and Aydughdī, we do find areas of their compositions in which the overall regularity of the pattern is broken, but this usually involves only the position of fillers, not the underlying structure as here. A much more radical development occurs in the work of Ibn Mubādir⁸ where we come across designs, that, although regular, seem to embody something of the concept of 'individuality' displayed in the work of Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī. Once again there seem to be parallels in the work of Ilkhanid illuminators.

In fact, as a detailed examination of all known earlier Mamluke frontispiece shows the geometric design of the Al-Āmidī frontispiece is quite unlike anything produced by Mamluke artists. On the basis of our survey of Fourteenth century manuscript illumination we can see that the design falls broadly into the category of repeat block-pattern (though as we have pointed out, it is not actually a pattern as such). The repeat block-pattern is not a part of the Mamluke artists repertoire, but is found extensively in the work of Iranian and Iraqi illuminators. In Egypt there are only one or two examples: one in a late thirteenth century Bible⁹ and others in the work of Ibn Mubādir at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The latter we have suggested was almost certainly trained in Baghdad, or was the pupil of such a person.

Examination of Iranian examples from earlier and contemporary Qur'ans does not produce any pattern similar to that of the frontispiece of Cairo Ms No. 10 because this is unique, but it is possible to find examples of manuscript illumination in which the same principles appear to be involved. For example, in the frontispiece of Juz' 18 in the Hamadan Qur'an of 1313-14 the diverging axial element occurs in the fan-tail ended shapes which are aligned according to no conceivable 18.10 plan. Similarly in the opening illuminated pages of Juz' 16 in the same 18.16 manuscript the design consists of free-moving circles which overlap but are not directly linked to the frame, somewhat after the fashion of the 1372 Al-Āmidī composition, though the latter is infinitely more complex. There is, however, no reason to think of any direct links existing between the Hamadan manuscript and the later one. Everything about the Hamadan manuscript in terms of colour and design is radically different to the 1372 Qur'an.

b.) Colour and colour-reversal.

The colours of the artists palette in this opening composition are extensive: dark-blue, gold, black, white, chocolate, light-blue, green orange, red and pink. The palette of the Group II artists is much more restricted, perhaps even deliberately so. Nor do we find in that group the deliberate juxtaposition of vivid primary colours on a black ground to heighten their intensity even further. To find such parallels of this use of vivid colour in Qur'an illumination we must look outside of the Mamluke realm to Iran, when in a Qur'an produced in Shiraz in the mid-thirteen-seventies¹⁰ we find a very similar use of colour. We can trace this back through the work of Muhammad bin Sayf al-Dīn al-Naqqāsh¹¹ in Baghdad in the thirteen-thirties and forties to that of the great master-painter Muhammad bin Āybak in the early fourteenth century at Baghdad. In short such colour schemes and their application in Qur'ans appear to be an Iranian/Iraqi phenomenon.

Colour reversal is another practise more common to Eastern manuscripts as we can see in the portion of the Qur'an copied in Mosul for Öljaytū and now in the British Library.¹² Colour change from one half of the double-page composition to the other is quite systematic. On the right-hand folio the blue hexagons are outlined in red, while on the opposite page it is the red hexagons that are outlined in blue. In the Group II Mamluke Qur'ans on the other hand, although colour change occurs, this is only in a very limited form - in the frontispiece of Cairo Ms 54 for example - and is not systemised.¹³ In fact it is more likely to be due to the lack of availability of a colour than to any esthetic principle. In the Al-Āmidī composition we find the red, blue and pink of the decorative

floral details quite systematically reversed from one page to the other.¹⁴

c.) Strapwork.

This is confined to a single band with alternating gold and blue squares. The intervening strapwork is made up of overlapping 'S' shapes. Running along all the gold interlace is a white line. This feature we see in the work of Ibn Mubādir, but apart from a single contemporary Mamluke manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library (Ms 1624 Magic Scroll), there is no other example of this technique.

d.) The Border.

Even by comparison with contemporary Mamluke Qur'ans, the border is exceptional in its richness. The outer row of alternating palmettes being repeated, mirror-like in reverse beneath. The two halves are linked by fleurs-de-lis bearing what looks like the old 'tear-drop' motif. This has the effect of making the borders run both vertically and horizontally. As the border is coloured in the same fashion as the centre portion, the overall effect is one of barbaric splendour. The border is a quite original conception; no other manuscript examined in the course of this survey has anything comparable. There are no marginal medallions: this would have made the composition top-heavy and in case there would not have been room.

48.5

The opening pages of text.

The opening pages bear the text of Al-Fatībah alone in superb black muhaggaq jalī outlined in gold, three lines to the page. The script is much larger than that in the body of the text, and alif here is approximately twice as big as that on the normal page. In the Group II manuscripts there is a difference in size between the opening text and

48.6

the remainder, but not to this quite dramatic extent. Moreover, this appears to be one of the earliest examples of the opening chapter alone occupying the two pages. The text is written on a wave-diaper ground with a treble-dot motif at the centre of each wave. This pattern of Chinese origin came to Egypt via Ilkhanid Iran. While it is common in Iran, one of the earliest examples in the fourteenth century being that in Ms 723 in the TIEM which was copied in Baghdad in 1310, it took a long time to appear in Mamluke Qur'ans. Its first recorded appearance is in the manuscript signed by Mubarak-Shah al-Suyufi in Cairo in 1344.¹⁵ The next recorded example is the work of Al-Amidi some thirty years later. The same is true of the cicada-shapes and composite blossoms with which this page is liberally sprinkled.¹⁶

The exotic Chinese cloud-scrolls which are so prominent on these pages exist in no previous Mamluke Qur'ans, though they do occur in at least one later example: the final page of the manuscript¹⁷ divided between the Chester Beatty Library and the John Rylands Library, Manchester. The exact route by which these scrolls came into Mamluke illumination is unknown. They do not occur in any extant Iranian or Iraqi Qur'ans of the fourteenth century and the cloud scroll, probably because of its extreme irregularity is not found in other Mamluke media such as metal-work, though we might have expected to find it on glass.

Above and below are rectangular panels with simple lobed cartouches in their centres which bear white kufic inscriptions. Around the cartouche is a floral scroll of red and gold flowers on a black ground surrounded by bright turquoise foliage. Turquoise, as Atil points out,¹⁸ is a new colour in Mamluke Qur'an illumination. The central cartouche is linked in each case to square end panels by a circle containing a

distinctive square-ended interlace knot. The eight end panels repeat the pentagon-in-a-decagon motif of the opening illuminated pages. On the right-hand page the pentagons are aligned to balance one another. On the opposite page the same alignment is used for all, except the top left-hand one which inexplicably has its axis altered so that the system is broken. The geometric designs are composed of blank bands almost throughout, except for one small area, not more than a few inches in length on the lower left of the Al-Baqarah page. In view of what we shall have to say later about the career of Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī, this detail is of the utmost significance and needs some explanation here.

One of the most familiar borders in fourteenth century Qur'an illumination, Mamluke or Eastern consists of a narrow white or unpainted band with short broken parallel lines with intervening dot or dash at right angles to the other strokes. We find it first in the 1302-6 Ms of Ibn al-Suhrawardī from Baghdad. In Mamluke work it makes its earliest appearance in the ex-Sotheby page copied by Muḥammad bin ^cAbdallāh al-Khazrajī. This type of border is absent from the work of Sandal and appears nowhere in the Baybars Qur'an. But it did become extremely popular from 1307 onwards. It is not the only method of producing a simple decorated border. Among the other methods is the one that we see here which occurs on a very limited scale. It consists of broken lines forming a 'tooth' pattern. There are only three other examples of this among all the Qur'ans examined in this survey:

1. TIEM, Ms 723, dated 1310, Baghdad, signed by Sulaymān b, Muḥammad al-Jaylānī.

2. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore Ms 559, dated 1323, signed by Mubarak-Shah b. Qutb.
3. Chester Beatty Library Ms 1465.

We shall have more to say later concerning these manuscripts. At this point we merely wish to draw attention to the fact of the motif's existence in the work of Al-Āmidī.

a.) Script.

The Kufic script in the upper and lower panels conforms much more closely to the 'classic' type, though as in all examples of decorative Kufic it has its individual peculiarities. Among these the most distinctive is the addition of pieces of pseudo-Kufic at the beginnings of lines and above them. This is not a Mamluke characteristic, but does occur in several Iranian Qur'ans, e.g.: Bayazit Library, Istanbul, Ms 8056, dated 1337; Chester Beatty Library Ms 1470, dated 1338, TIEM¹⁹ Ms 430 dated 1339.

b.) Strapwork and borders.

Strapwork is virtually the same as that which occurs on the opening pages. Around this however, on either side, are borders of the type we find in Group I Qur'ans of the thirteen sixties, i.e. the elongated 'S' shape with intervening loop. The history of this motif is interesting, because what we see here seems to be the final development in a long process.

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One of the first examples is found in Chester Beatty Ms 1439 which probably came from Shiraz in the early thirteenth century. It consists, in this manuscript, of an elongated 'S' shape joined by a hook. Later in

the early fourteenth century the 'S' shape occurs in simple repeat as we can see in the great Qur'an made in Baghdad between 1307 and 1310 by an anonymous calligrapher and illuminated by Ibn Āybak. The design occurs at precisely the same time in Mamluke work when we find it in the ex-Sotheby page of 1307. It then disappears from Mamluke Qur'ans until the thirteen thirties (See TIEM Ms 434). The next development is its re-appearance in the 1365 Chester Beatty Qur'an endowed by Khwānd Barakah, now with the intervening loop and it is in this form that we find it in the work of Al-Āmidī. Whether the fact that both of these two latter manuscripts were endowed to the same madrasah at the same time is of any significance is a matter that we shall be looking at shortly.

c.) The outer border.

This is of a fairly traditional type and what is most noticeable is the employment of vivid colour schemes in combination with black and white. Yet again al-Āmidī shows his fondness for contrasting rather than complimentary colours - red and blue, purple and green etc.

The final pages.

The text of the final pages is in pronounced muhaggaq with three dots above the long alif. Around the text in a grisaille technique are cicada shapes and composite blossoms together with cloud scrolls. All this is over a cross-hatched ground with red dots. The decoration of the ground is not found in previous Mamluke work, with the interesting exception of the Chester Beatty/British Library thirty-part Qur'an. But it is found at a much earlier time in the 1307-10 Baghdad Qur'an and the TIEM Qur'an dated 1320, perhaps from the same city. 48.8

There are a number of additional decorative features in these pages on which it would be best to concentrate. The border comprises alternating palmettes and composite blossoms within a classic white Chinese 'jui' pattern. Although this is rare in Mamluke Qur'an illumination there is an almost exactly similar method on one of the glass lamps commissioned by Sultan Hasan for his mosque (circa 1363).²¹ The composite blossoms which occur several times on these pages use a curious bent-petal device, common to Chinese and Iranian art, but little found in Mamluke work before this time. It occurs in a rather debased form in two of Sandals compositions, but on a very minor scale. The real home of this device was Iran where we can find numerous examples.

The ground of the colophon page differs from that of Surat al-Nas in so far as arabesque fragments replace the cicadas and blossoms. This type goes directly back to Baghdad where it is found in the work of Ibn Āybak, as well as occurring in the thirty-part Qur'an copied by Mubarak-Shah bin ^CAbdallāh endowed by the emir Sirghitmish al-Nāsirī to his madrasah in 1356. This manuscript has a further connection with the work of Al-Āmidī. In the margin of each of the final pages is a fine medallion, composed in a most distinctive fashion from multiple petals in two shades of blue with white highlights around a central circle. This is found in an identical form in the Sirghitmish manuscript and in the work of Muḥammad bin Sayf al-Dīn al-Naqqāsh, who almost certainly worked in Baghdad.

48.7

A reconstruction of the career of Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī.

Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī is undoubtedly the most original and interesting illuminator of the Sha^Cbān period, although he stands somewhat apart

from the mainstream of Qur'an illuminators. What is proposed at this stage is a reconstruction of the career of this man on the basis of his known works; those which we believe can be attributed to him on stylistic grounds, and on the basis of earlier and contemporary Mamluke and Iranian/Iraqi work.

What do we actually know about him? We know for a fact that he worked in Cairo for a number of years prior to the year 1376 when he completed illuminating the Qur'an commissioned by Sha^cbān for his Ashrafiyyah Madrasah. Although his style of illumination contains many new and almost unique features, to have been commissioned by the sultan must have meant that he was considered a top-ranking painter. This presumes that he had been in Cairo long enough for his work to have become known. As we intend to show he was there prior to 1369.

The second fact we have about him is his name. This being so short - merely his given name and nisbah, strongly suggests that this is how he was known to his contemporaries, i.e. Ibrāhīm 'of Āmid', rather than Ibrāhīm 'the Painter', or Ibrāhīm 'son of Muhammad', which almost certainly would have happened if he had been a native of Cairo, or resident there for a long time. If we add to this the point that his style of painting is different from that of his Group II contemporaries we can come to the conclusion that this man came to Cairo from Amid after being trained as an illuminator elsewhere and after a relatively short period of time was thought highly enough of to be commissioned to work for the sultan and other Mamluke emirs.

It was by no means uncommon for people from Syria, Anatolia and Iran to be found living in Cairo at this time. Examination of the biographical dictionaries of Safadi, Ibn Hajar and Ibn Taghrī-Birdī reveals many

whose nisbahs and biographies prove them to have come from further afield. Artists and craftsmen are unfortunately rarely if ever found in the above works. However there is ample literary testimony to the presence of Iranians involved in architectural decoration, for us to be confident that artists from further East must have found work in Cairo. We have had earlier occasion to refer to Qur'an No 324 dated 762, in the National Library, Cairo. This is copied by someone whose nisbah is given as 'al-nakhjawānī', i.e. of Nakhchivan in north-western Iran. Thus it would not be surprising to find someone from Amid, much nearer than Nakhchivan, and within the Mamluke political 'orbit' working in Cairo for a Mamluke patron.

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The city of Amid lay in the province of Al-Jazīrah, on the upper reaches of the Tigris west of Lake Van. Amid was the capital of the area known as Diyar Bakr and this latter name eventually came to be used to refer to Amid and it is by that name that the city is known today.

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Amid and the surrounding area were controlled by the Artukids in the twelfth century, descendants of a Turkoman officer in the Seljuk army. At the end of the twelfth century Saladin established Ayyubid authority in Diyar Bakr and from that time onwards the area was subject to the authority of one or other of the neighbouring powers. Only Mardin remained under the direct control of Artukid rulers and they managed to survive until the end of the fourteenth century. They appear to have acted as loyal servants of the Ilkhanids who controlled the area and regained control of Amid, Mayyafariqin and Khabur. After the demise of the Ilkhanids in the second quarter of the fourteenth century Artukids, Turkomans, Mamlukes and the petty Ayyubid dynasty of Hisn Kayfa wrestled for control of Diyar Bakr. Eventually Diyar Bakr came under the control

of the Aq Qoyunlu Turkomans²⁵ who were given it as a reward for their support by Timur.

We are aware of no fourteenth century Qur'ans from Diyar Bakr, though these may exist so it is difficult to establish what traditions of manuscript illumination and calligraphy existed there; an area which culturally speaking was something of a backwater. A scribe with talent as an illuminator would have tended to make his way to West, to one of the Anatolian beyliks or South to Iraq or Western Iran. This was probably in the 1350's or early 60's.

Anatolia.

We know little about manuscript production and illumination in Anatolia in the mid-fourteenth century.²⁶ It was a time of chaos and confusion as the beyliks were gradually taken over by the Ottomans. However in the Mevlana museum in Konya are a number of manuscripts dating from the period prior to 1350 which give us some idea of what illuminated Qur'ans would have looked like. There is also another dating from the time of Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī.

During the course of my visit to the Mevlana I was able to examine among others, manuscripts dated 714/1314-15, 727/ 1326-7 and 770/1368-9. In addition there is a Qur'an juz' which was sold in London some time ago and now in a private collection in New York, dated 1334 which may be of Anatolian origin.

These manuscripts are: a Qur'an written for a Qaramanid prince (?)²⁷ Khalīl bin Mahmūd bin Qaramān in the city of Konya in 1314-15 by Ismā^cīl bin Yūsuf and illuminated (dhababahu wa rasa^cahu) by Ya^cqūb bin Ghazī al-Qūnawī, (Ms 2); a Qur'an copied in 1326-7 by ^cIzz al-Dīn al-Khattāt

al-Sāravjī (Ms 13); a copy of the Mesnevi (Ms 69), both the latter probably being copied in Konya. The single juz' was copied in 1334 by one Husayn bin Hasan called 'Husām al-Faqir al-Mawlawī'²⁹. It is known that the khalīfah of Sultān Walad, head of the Mevlevi order, in Erzincan, was a certain Husayn Husām al-Dīn. As Sultān Walad was head of the order from 1284 until 1312 it is quite probable that his khalīfah should still have been around in 1334. Thus it is possible that this Qur'an section comes from Erzincan or somewhere in eastern Anatolia.

On the basis of these manuscripts, along with such earlier work as has survived, we can see that there was a thriving tradition of illumination and calligraphy in central Anatolia around Konya the Mevlevi metropolis. In this tradition, particularly if we go back to the end of the thirteenth century, we can see some parallels with the work of Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī. In the outstanding copy of the Mesnevi dated 678/ 1279-80 in the Mevlana Museum (Ms 51)³⁰ we notice many of the characteristics of the Al-Āmidī compositions: innovation, outstanding quality, unusual colours, a wide repertoire of motifs, certain similarities in composition.

These features are not so marked in the later Anatolian work. However the 'S' - shape and loop strapwork that we have seen so prominently in the Āmidī compositions does occur in the 1369 Mesnevi. To this we could add the fact that Anatolia was possessed of an extremely well-developed and highly imaginative tradition of architectural decoration to which al-Āmidī's work could be related.

Iraq and Western Iran.

The other area in which al-Āmidī could have worked is Baghdad and western Iran which were controlled by the Jala'irids and Injuvids

followed by the Muzaffarids respectively. We have noted that the vivid colours and Chinese-inspired decorative detail was a characteristic of the great Baghdadi master Muhammad bin Aybak and that this is one of Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī's strongest features. Unfortunately, we are not in a position to comment on the way in which the work of Ibn Aybak continued to influence later manuscript illuminators in the Baghdad area. All we can say is that some of the features of his style appear in a muted form, in the Qur'ans illuminated by Muhammad bin Sayf al-Dīn al-Naqqāsh. However, whilst in the Pars Museum in Shiraz I came across several ajza' from an unknown Qur'an which appears to be a direct successor to the tradition of Ibn Āybak. These, 1, 12 and 13, bear an almost obliterated 49.1

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waqfiyyah which does however give enough text to enable us to establish that it was endowed by Tūrān-Shāh, the wazir of Shāh Shujā^c (1357-84), Muzaffarid ruler of Shiraz, to the Jāmi^c al-Atīq in that city. This was in the year 777/ 1375-6. We cannot be certain that the manuscript dates from this time as the waqfiyyah may have been written over an earlier one. But assuming that it is the original, and that the manuscript was illustrated in Shiraz then it is of great interest to us because parts of it are very close to the work of Al-Āmidī. This is perhaps most noticeable in some of the khamsah and asharah^c signs where 49.2-3

the same vivid colour combinations appear together with the 'bent-petal' motif in compositions that have something of the Al-Āmidī extravagance about them. Floral arabesques have the same highly articulated detail along with the combination of black white and brighter primary colours. We also get the appearance of the border made up of 'S'-shape and loops, 49.4

though here it is two not one loop as in the Cairo manuscript.

To come to any absolutely categorical conclusions about the possible

sources of Al-Āmidī's style and training is difficult, given the slender means at our disposal. All we can say is that he was almost certainly trained outside of Cairo, probably in Iraq or Iran and perhaps with some Anatolian connections.

Other works illuminated by Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī.

There are two other Qur'ans which, on stylistic grounds, we can attribute to this artist. The first is Cairo National Library Ms 9 and the second, Ms 15 in the same place made for the Emir Sirghitmish.

Full and detailed descriptions of these are not necessary, as all we wish to do is to establish Al-Āmidī's involvement.

1. National Library, Cairo Ms. 9.

This is an unusual two-volume copy, endowed by Sultan Sha^cbān to his mother's madrasah along with three other Qur'ans on 27 March 1369. It is unsigned and judging from the style of the calligraphy, which is a good muhaggaq, not the work of ^cAlī bin Muhammad al-Muktib. In the borders of many of the pages are variant readings of certain āyat. These are in a fine small hand, which looks superior to that of the main text, and may be the work of some one else. 50.1

Each surah-heading is surrounded with a type of strap - or ribbonwork not identical to but clearly closely related to the 'S'-shape and loop variety. It consists of a long flat link of the same proportion as the 'S' and a loop. This is in gold with the interior of the link being filled with blue, red, but most frequently with the bright turquoise that we find in Cairo Ms 10. Now the identical type is used to surround many of the surah-headings in the same manuscript, and this is the first time we are aware of its use in a Mamluke Qur'an, though Ibn Mubādir 50.2

did employ occasionally a type with three loops.

If we compare the white Kufic of the surah headings it is quite apparent that they are by the same artist, including all of the idiosyncracies mentioned in the analysis of the Kufic in Ms 10. In the case of the marginal ornaments the resemblance is even closer. It is difficult to distinguish between the ornaments of the two manuscripts since in design, colours and details they are identical. 50.3 48.9

Each of the two parts to the Qur'an has a magnificent frontispiece. Both are quite unlike as far as the design of the central 'trellis' is concerned. And there is no connection between these and the design of that in Ms 10. Both however do employ schemes that appear to be entirely original in the sense that they have not appeared previously in Mamluke manuscripts.

Nisf 1.

The frontispiece of Nisf 1 is the best known having been exhibited and reproduced several times. It is fully described by Atil and there is little that needs to be added to that. We find the same finesse of detail here as we do in Ms 10; the same intense articulation of the palmettes and other details; the same use of vivid primary colours together with black and white. In this double-page composition the principle of geometric regularity is adhered to throughout: there is no break-up of the 'trellis' into free-moving parts. However we should bear in mind that there is a gap of five or six years between the later Ms 10 and this one; time in which the artists ideas would have unquestionably developed. The principle of colour-change which we have noted in the work of Al-Āmidī is here present in a much stronger 50.4 33

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degree. It is applied to all areas of the composition, not merely to the central panel but to each component part. It is subtly and carefully done so that one is not conscious of the change from the right-hand side to the left. It is only on detailed inspection that the observer becomes aware of the full extent of the changes. This is precisely the method applied in the frontispiece to Cairo Ms 9: not to colours but to geometry. There we have the feeling that each side is identical and it is only after examination that we realise that this is very far from being the case.

The opening pages of Nisf 1 were closely followed later when Al-Āmidī came to illuminate Ms 10. The outer border of the latter use the same overall pattern, with many identical details. Perhaps the most telling detail is the feature that we can almost regard as the artists 'trademark'.

If we examine the smaller square panels at the ends of the rectangular ones bearing inscriptions we see the familiar pentagon-in-a-decagon motif. Yet again, exactly as in Ms 10, one of the pentagons is out of alignment: that on the bottom right of the second page is angled to the left instead of in the opposite direction so that the balance of the four pentagons is thrown 'out of key'. There are several other points that are worthy of mention most notably the introduction of a type of edging that we have not seen in Mamluke Qur'ans prior to this time. It consists of a blue link and dot which is exceptionally rare in the Near East. Equally rare is the white edging decorated with alternating 'teeth' and which is used all over this manuscript, but in only one minute spot in Ms 10 as if almost deliberately suppressed.

Nisf 2.

This volume is hardly known at all. All that has been published so far

are the black and white line drawings of some details of Bourgoïn. The 34 50.6
central panel contains a piece of repeat block-pattern, formed by the
interlocking segments of the 'trellis'. These knit together in such a
way as to form three very distinct shapes: a circle with four lobes: a
circle with fan-tails at the top and bottom with semi-circular 'bites'
at the sides: an almond lozenge with lobes on either side. The overall
impression is quite un-Mamluke. The interiors of these shapes are
filled with flowers or palmettes on a blue or black ground. Beyond the
surrounding border of strapwork is another wide border which is divided
into segments with pointed ends. These segments are decorated with
finely drawn and painted mini-compositions made up of large mauve or 50.7
white blossoms flanked by green or white lotuses with accompanying flora,
all on a black ground with white treble-dot motif. These panels are
separated by twin triangles placed point to point divided into interlocking
sections and decorated with a highlight that gives a distinct low-relief.
Outside of this is another border comprising green bud-shapes side by
side and overlapping on reddish brown ground. There is no precise
Mamluke parallel in earlier Qur'ans.

The final border is of a standard alternating palmette type, enlivened 50.8
with a bent-leaf motif in the centre of the most prominent palmette.

At this point it may be better to pause briefly to comment on some of
the features noted in the work of this painter. In the first place there
can be little doubt that this manuscript is the work of Al-Āmidī.
Although it is not impossible that he was assisted by one or more persons,
the similarities between the manuscript described above and Cairo Ms 10
are such that they must be essentially the work of the same man.

Having examined the frontispiece designs and compared them with all

known earlier work, Mamluke, Iranian/Iraqi, Anatolian, we are forced to the conclusion that there is no exact prototype, but among Anatolian and Iranian work there are compositions which follow similar principles whereas among Mamluke manuscripts there are not.

If we examine the design of Nisf 1 in Cairo Ms 9, we can see that what we have is a piece of repeat block-pattern composed of an eight-lobed medallion with intervening 'stars' made of composite blossoms. In the unpublished Juz' 21 in the TIEM (Ms 540) from the Qur'an copied in Mosul for Öljaytū between 1306-11 there is a frontispiece which is 15.7 clearly related. Precisely the same pattern is used, the only difference being that in the Mamluke version the axis has been altered from vertical to diagonal. Apart from this example there is the general fact that repeat block-pattern designs were used frequently by earlier fourteenth century Iranian and Iraqi artists whilst among Mamluke painters such a method appears to have little popularity.

In the case of Nisf 2 the basic principle is the overlapping of designs based on circles and segments of circles to create unusual and irregular shapes which are then worked up by the painter and form the pattern. This idea does not appear to have been much used after the first decade of the fourteenth century in Iraq and Iran, but there are some excellent examples in the Qur'an illuminated by Ibn Āybak in 14.6-7 Baghdad after 1306 and endowed by Öljaytū to his mausoleum in Sultan-
iyyah. We find more examples in a Qur'an made in 1310, and now in Topkapi (Ms 503), though earlier Iranian manuscripts do not appear to employ this principle. Although it may be thought an invention of the Ilkhanid painters this does not appear so, since it is used by the illuminator of the 1279 Mesnevi in Konya, Mukhlis bin ^cAbdallāh al-Hindī.

There are a very limited number of possible Mamluke antecedents for this type of design, for example Ms VII, 10 in the Keir Collection, though these cannot be compared to the Iraqi, Iranian and Anatolian compositions which are infinitely more elaborate. None of these however compare in complexity with the composition of Al-Āmidī. We must conclude that he was aware of the earlier designs, perhaps by having seen manuscripts in which they were employed, or we may speculate, having come across pattern books used by earlier painters in somewhere like Baghdad.

The opening pages of text bearing the first āyat of Sūrat Maryam are 50.9 elaborately embellished with cicada shapes and composite blossoms done a grisaille technique as in Cairo Ms 10. The decoration of these pages follows that employed elsewhere by the artist. The border is a 50.10 particularly fine example of his technique of exquisitely drawn palmettes and arabesques in bright primaries in combination with black and white. A feature that we find for the first time here occurs in the border surrounding the Kufic inscriptions. These are apparently peonies depicted from the side, and a motif which was very common in fifteenth century illumination.

The final pages of text in this part bear Sūrat al-Falaq and Al-Nās and 50.11 have panels above and below which are some of the most elaborate in the work of Al-Āmidī. Unlike all other examples these panels are conceived as a compositional unity instead of being divided into three separate component parts. The panels on this occasion are created by circular and oval areas being formed by interlocking and overlapping circles and segments of circles. Of especial interest to us are the pear-shaped 50.12 medallions at the end of each panel. The shape itself is relatively

uncommon among Mamluke work of this date but what is of greater concern is the border. This is a splendid and 'classic' example of a three-pointed leaf in an oval with similar one behind creating an overlapping effect. The only other dated example of this device is in Topkapı Ms Y365, which is signed by Mubarak-Shah al-Suyufi and dated Cairo, 1344. Thus, Al-Amidi was not only an outstanding painter but had an extremely wide repertoire of designs and motifs, quite a number of which appear not to have been used before.

2. National Library, Cairo Ms. 15.

This is a single volume Qur'an commissioned by the Emir Sirghitmish al-Ashrafi and copied by Muhammad al-Muktib al-Shihabi in Dhu'l-Qa^cdah 776/April 1374. Parts of this are reproduced in Moritz,³⁵ including an enlarged detail. Careful study of these reveal all the characteristics of Al-Amidi's style. The text is written over a ground of finely drawn arabesque scrolls enlivened with gold on a background of gold cross-hatchings. The only other instance of this is in Nisf 1 of Cairo Ms 9. The kufic script in the upper and lower panels is identical to that in Mss 9 and 10. These panels are surrounded with ribbonwork of the S-shape and loop variety that we see so often in the painting of Al-Amidi, but elsewhere only rarely. These panels also contain the device of the peony shown in profile which we know only from the examples in Nisf 2 of Ms 9. The outer border would seem to be of the polychrome-with-black-and-white-type that we see in Mss 9 and 10, with, interestingly, a revival of the old 'tear-drop' motif of the early years of the century. The edge around the medallions at the ends of the panels closely follows that around the medallions in Nisf 2 of Ms 9 and which, as we have

pointed out, is similar to that in the 1344 Qur'an in Topkapi.

The manuscript also falls within the period during which we know Al-Āmidī to have been working in Cairo, circa 1368 to 1376. If it be argued that as an artist in the middle of commissions for the sultan, it is unlikely that he would have accepted work from elsewhere, then we should note the following points. First of all we have the precedent of Group II where the artists involved also produced a Qur'an for the emir Arghūn Shāh. Secondly Sirghitmish - like Arghūn Shāh - was an intimate of the sultan and it would have been quite natural for him to engage the same craftsman.

At this point it is worth saying something about these two emirs, both of whom were patrons of Qur'ans during the reign of Sha^cbān.

i) Arghūn Shāh al-Ashrafī.

Ms 54 is perhaps the best known of all the Qur'ans of the Sha^cbān period. It has been reproduced in part several times and its style analysed and commented upon by Ettinghausen and several others.³⁷ One aspect of this manuscript which has led to much speculation is its apparent association with the name of a Mamluke emir, Arghūn Shāh al-Ashrafī. The name of this man occurs in a rather odd half-obliterated inscription at the front of the manuscript which reads as follows:

....Arghūn Shāh al-Mamlukī al-Ashrafī, May God make him victorious and grant him his hopes and desires in the Two Worlds (has endowed) all of this Holy Qur'an for all muslims, that they might benefit from it in reading, copying and other (ways)...., (Fig. 30)

46.9

Despite the fact that the inscription mentions no institution it is undoubtedly a waqfiyyah since the word 'waqafa' can be clearly seen at

the beginning of the inscription even though a determined effort has been made to erase it. Unless the name of the institution is contained in the erased lines (unlikely) then we must assume that the inscription is unfinished.

Arghūn Shāh was a relatively common name, however the addition of the word 'Al-Ashrafi' indicates that he was a mamluke of a sultan bearing the throne name Al-Ashraf. This can only be sultans Kujuk (1341-2) or Shā^cbān. Although the authors of the Millenery Catalogue opt for Kujuk, on grounds that are by no means clear, Ettinghausen favours the latter suggesting that the Qur'an was made about 1370 for an emir who lived circa 1368-88. According to Atil,³⁸ most recent commentator on the manuscript, 'although it is tempting to assign the Koran to this Arghun Shah (emir of Kujuk) who died in 1349, the style of the frontispiece and the overall conception of the manuscript reveal a closer connection with a group of later works commissioned by Shā^cbān.' Atil is correct in not succumbing to the temptation since there is nothing that could lead us to ascribe the work to the time of Kujuk, while the manuscript is clearly part of the output of the Group II artists of Shā^cbān whose work we have examined in detail. Furthermore despite Ettinghausen's rather non-committal date of 1368-88, and Atil's 'it seems more likely that the patron of this Koran was an unknown Arghūn Shāh who served Sultan Shā^cbān...', the identification of Arghun Shah is not difficult.

Both Ibn Taghrī-Birdī in the Manhal al-Safī and Al-Safadī in his huge Wafayāt give the biography of an Arghūn Shāh al-Ashrafi who was an emir of Sultan Shā^cbān and who died in 1376 according to Ibn Taghrī-Birdī:³⁹

Arghūn Shāh bin ^cAbdallāh al-Ashrafi, the Emir Sayf al-Dīn, was one of

the commanders of a thousand (mutaqaddim al-alf) in Egypt, at the time of his master's reign, Al-Ashraf Sha^C bān bin Husayn. He was an intimate of his lord, to the extent that he undertook the Hajj with Al-Ashraf in the year 778/1376 when what will be related in his biographical entry occurred and he returned to Cairo. Arghūn came back with him and the other emirs who returned to Cairo. Then Al-Ashraf concealed himself and hid from his emirs, and Arghūn did likewise until he was caught and put to death in the 788/1376 at Qubbat al-Nasr outside of Cairo, (Appendix 41)

There can be little doubt that it was this Arghūn Shāh for whom the Qur'an was written. The only mystery is the institution for which it was intended, since there are no records of this emir building a mosque or madrasah to which it could have been endowed.

ii) Sirghitmish al-Ashrafī.

Sirghitmish bin ^CAbdallāh al-Ashrafī was the intimate of Sha^C bān and like Arghūn Shāh went into hiding at the time of the sultan's downfall, was captured and executed in 778/1376. Ibn Taghrī-Birdī has an account of him which differs little from that of Arghūn Shāh. He is to be distinguished from Sirghitmish bin ^CAbdallāh al-Nāsirī who died in 759/1358 and who founded a madrasah in 756 to which the thirty-part Qur'an signed by Mubārak-Shāh bin ^CAbdallāh was endowed (Cairo Ms 60).

Although there are full accounts of the madrasah founded by his namesake Sirghitmish al-Nāsirī, there is no record in Maqrizi, Ali Pasha etc. to mosque, madrasah, tomb, or any institution founded by Sirghitmish. Like the Qur'an of Arghūn Shāh its ultimate destination remains, as yet, unknown.

Both of the above emirs, close associates of Sultan Sha^c bān, ordered Qur'ans from a workshop which also produced manuscripts for the monarch and his mother. As we have seen these manuscripts form two distinct groups which we have termed II and III. Given the close association of the patrons and the fact that manuscripts from each group were endowed to the same institution at exactly the same time, it seems logical to suggest that we are dealing not with two separate workshops, but only one and that that was the royal studio, established by Sha^c bān, or his mother for the purpose of producing Qur'ans for the foundations that they were in the process of setting up.

3. The thirty-part Qur'an in the British Library and Chester Beatty Library.

In the collection of the Chester Beatty Library are two magnificent ajza' from a thirty-part Qur'an, Mss 1464-5.⁴² Another juz' is in the British Library, Ms Or 848,⁴³ and a further one which formerly belonged to Professor Tancred Borenius was sold in Sotheby's in 1975.⁴⁴

All we know about this manuscript is that it bears a waqfiyyah in the name of Al-Nāsir Faraj (1399-1412). The waqfiyyah is mentioned by Lings and Safadi in their catalogue of the Qur'an Exhibition, but as they point out the manuscript must be earlier than the time of Faraj. Atil is inclined to attribute it to the first quarter of the fourteenth century. This however is much too early: it bears no resemblance to any of the dated manuscripts of that period, nor indeed to any manuscript made during the reign of Al-Nāsir Muhammad.

Close examination of all of the first three parts strongly suggests that most, though perhaps not all, of the work is by Al-Āmidī. This

assertion is made on the basis of style. There is also strong circumstantial evidence to show that the patron of the manuscript was yet again Sha^cbān.

A detailed description of these ajza' is unnecessary, all we wish to show are the similarities between the illumination in this manuscript and the known work of Al-Āmidī. Let us begin by examining the 'trellis' designs of the four ajza'.

We have seen that Al-Āmidī not only employs unusual trellis patterns but tends to use them or parts of them in several manuscripts. We have also noted that his designs appear to be unique in that we know of no other painter who employs them. The trellis design of Juz' 12, Chester Beatty Ms 1465, is quite clearly adapted from that of the frontispiece of Nisf 2 of Cairo 9. The arabesques of the surrounding border are modelled with the same intense feeling for detail that we see throughout the manuscripts illuminated by Al-Āmidī and the same conjunction of black and white is also used. There are other tell-tale details: for example the three-pronged base of each alternate 'spike' in the margin is also used in the border of Cairo 9. 51.1 50.6

When we turn to the frontispiece of Juz' 4, Chester Beatty Ms 1464, we can see further clear examples of the hand of Al-Āmidī. Once again the 'trellis' composition is constructed from interlocking lobed circles and segments of circles, with the irregular areas receiving the most elaborate decoration. The floral chains at the top and bottom of the composition are painted in precisely the same fashion, constructed, modelled and coloured in an identical manner on a black ground with a tiny white treble-dot motif. Among the colours used is the rare turquoise shade that occurs only in Al-Āmidī's work. The decorative details include the square-ended 51.2

strapwork knot in the centre, and perhaps most important, white edging with a 'tooth' pattern. As we have noted this is extremely rare and no other example is known in Mamluke work before this time. 51.3

The question of Juz' 9 is more complex. Although the decoration within the colume does not differ substantially from that in the other ajza', the decoration of the frontispiece does. The design of the 'trellis' is much more archaic than any of the other designs used by Al-Āmidī. It is in fact one of the old designs favoured by Sandal and his pupils. Moreover the fillers used for the 'trellis' are of an entirely traditional type. Nor does the design and decoration of the outer border conform well to what we know of Al-Āmidī. Thus, it seems probable that this was executed by another artist working with Al-Āmidī. However such is the variety of his style and repertoire of motifs, that we cannot be absolutely certain of this. 51.4

Juz' 7 which we know only from the reproduction in the Sotheby Catalogue is certainly the work of Al-Āmidī. 51.5

The inner parts of these volumes are by no means as sumptuously decorated as those of Mss 9 and 10. However we can point to major features which we know only in the work of Al-Āmidī. In Juz' 4 for example, the text of the opening pages are surrounded by cicada and composite blossoms in a grisaille technique identical to those in Cairo Ms 9. 51.6

Around the border of the pages is the overlapping tri-lobed leaf in an oval that we find also in the same manuscript and only very rarely elsewhere. Finally in all of these ajza' the marginal device for ritual prostration is indicated by a miniature mosque bearing the word 'sajada'. 51.7

The only other example of this is in the work of Al-Āmidī. 51.8

On stylistic grounds there can be little doubt - this at any rate is 50.13

our contention - that the manuscript is yet another in which Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī was involved, perhaps alone, possibly with the assistance of others.

It would seem logical that this Qur'an was among those commissioned by Sultan Sha^Cbān or his mother. What evidence do we have for this? Our only evidence is circumstantial but there are quite good grounds for believing it to be correct.

The only inscription on the manuscript occurs on the juz' in the British Library. This has been almost entirely scrubbed out, but under ultra-violet light can be read quite easily:

Our Lord the sultan Al-Malik al-Nāsir Faraj son of the late sultan Barquq, May he be victorious, has endowed this as is stated in Juz' 1, (Fig. 31)

Juz' 1 is missing so we cannot say exactly what the terms were, presumably they differed little from earlier endowment certificates. However, what we would like to suggest here is that this manuscript came into the hands of Faraj from the Ashrafiyah foundation of Sultan Sha^Cbān. There are two ways by which this could have happened.

In the year 810/1407 the Emir Jamāl al-Dīn, Ustādār of Al-Nāsir Faraj commenced work on a madrasah in the Bab al-^CId area. When this was completed he furnished it with material taken from the Ashrafiyah foundation of Sultan Sha^Cbān. Maqrizi in the Khitat relates as follows:⁴⁵

And in the madrasah of Al-Ashraf Sha^Cbān bin Huasayn bin Muhammad bin Qalaūn, which was in the rough ground opposite the Tablkhānah of the Citadel there were windows of copper inlaid with gold, doors faced with copper, exquisitely worked with inlay, Qur'ans, books on Hadith and Fiqh

and other religious sciences. (Jamāl al-Dīn) bought this from Al-Malik al-Salih al-Mansur Hājji, son of Al-Ashraf⁴⁶ for the sum of six hundred dinars - when it was worth ten times that amount - and took it to his house. Among this were ten Qur'ans whose height and length were between four and five spans (ashbar)⁴⁷, including one by Yāqūt, another by Ibn al-Bawwāb⁴⁸ and the remainder in elegant scripts, superbly bound and in bags of woven silk. There were also ten loads of precious books, all of which had the endowment certificate of Al-Ashraf on their first page. And they were put in his madrasah..., (Appendix 4ii)

The Ashrafiyyah Madrasah was subsequently demolished by order of Al-Nāsir Faraj⁴⁹ and the Maristan of Al-Mu^cayyid Shaykh finally put up on its site.⁵⁰ Our first suggestion would be that the Chester Beatty/British Library manuscript was among items remaining in the Ashrafiyyah Madrasah and was re-endowed by Faraj. However, Maqrizi's account implies that everything of value was taken by Jamāl al-Dīn, so the second possibility, to which we will now refer, seems the more likely.

After the execution of Jamāl al-Dīn by Al-Nāsir Faraj, the sultan wanted to destroy his madrasah, but was persuaded from that course by his secretary Fath al-Dīn bin Fathallāh. By certain doubtful legal measures, details of which are given by Maqrīzī,⁵¹ al-Nāsir Faraj tore up the endowment deed of Jamāl al-Dīn and made his own new endowment, changing the name of the madrasah from that of his ex-ustādār to that of himself Maqrizi then tells us:⁵²

Then the sultan examined the religious books endowed to the madrasah (i.e. those taken from the Ashrafiyyah) and selected a number, and on the cover (zāhir) of every one was a note containing the waqfiyyah of the

sultan. Then he took many of the books and sent them to the Citadel. ,
(Appendix 4iii)

Here we have direct proof that Faraj removed and re-endowed books originally from the Ashrafiyyah Madrasah. Although Qur'ans are not mentioned by name there is every reason to believe that Qur'an's were included, among which was the manuscript under discussion. Thus our contention is that the four surviving ajza' are part of the oeuvre of Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī made originally for Sultan Sha^cbān and an important part of the Group III manuscripts.

Other manuscript in which Al-Āmidī may have been involved.

In this final section we would like to examine three manuscripts which, we believe, show the hand of Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī, but all of which bear dates from long before his first recorded appearance in Cairo. They are signed by famous calligraphers, namely: Yahyā al-Sūfī and the two men who are recorded by some as having been his teachers; Mubārak-Shāh bin Qutb and Mubārak-Shāh al-Suyūfī. The manuscripts are:

1. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Ms. W.559.⁵³ Dated 723/1323 and bearing the signature of Mubārak-Shāh bin Qutb.
2. TIEM, Ms. 430.⁵⁴ Dated 739/1339-40 and bearing the signature of Yahyā al-Sufi
3. Topkapi Library, Ms. Y 365.⁵⁵ Dated 744/1345 copied by Mubārak-Shāh al-Suyūfī.

All have compositions based on the principles at work in those of Al-Āmidī. The first two, in particular, have decorative details that occur only in the painting of that artist.

Around the opening pages of the Walters manuscript and the initial

pages of text in the Topkapi Qur'an are borders of tri-lobed leaves in ovals. These occur in no other fourteenth century mss that we know of before the work of Al-Āmidī in Cairo Ms 9.⁵⁶ The edging made up of a repeating 'tooth' pattern that appears in the illumination of the Walters Qur'an occur, with a single exception, only in Cairo Ms 9 and the Chester Beatty aizā⁵⁷ of the thirty-part manuscript which we believe to be his work.⁵⁸

The cicada-shapes and composite blossoms that are found on the opening text pages of all three manuscripts appear in the work of Al-Āmidī, but in no other Qur'an between 1345 and the thirteen-seventies. The texts of Fātihah and Baqara in both the earlier Qur'ans and some of those by Al-Āmidī are written over a wave-diaper pattern. This is found in Iranian⁵⁹ and Iraqi⁶⁰ manuscripts, but not in Cairene ones before Al-Āmidī (if we discount the Topkapi manuscript)

On examining the opening folios of illumination in the Walters manuscript (18 x 13 cm) we are struck at once by the similarity between their composition and those in Al-Āmidī's Cairo manuscripts. We have pointed out the painter's fondness for designs made of interlocking circular elements, in which the unusual shapes made by the interplay of geometric figures, particularly the lobed almond-shapes, are an important part of the overall pattern. The Walters composition follows these principles closely. Secondly the vivid colour-scheme including the distinctive turquoise on dark grounds are characteristic of Al-Āmidī.⁶¹

If we examine the opening pages of text to TIEM Ms 430 it is apparent that composition of the upper and lower parts is identical in a number of respects to the composition just discussed. The semi-circular constructions with pointed lobes are the same as those used in the

52.1
29.3

37.2

Walters manuscript and the lobed almond-shaped area and its decoration and colour scheme are exactly the same.

Around the central panel of some pages is a distinctive form of edging 37.2 consisting of a light-blue link alternating with a circle of the same colour on a dark-blue ground.

There is no other example of this in use before the opening pages of Cairo Ms 9, Nisf 1, where it appears in the same position. 50.5

Having examined in detail all the work and probable work of Al-Āmidī we feel certain that the first of these manuscripts under discussion was illuminated entirely by the Cairo master. His hand is definitely present in the second, and quite probably in the third as well.

The script of the Walters and TIEM manuscripts is extremely close, though if Yahyā al-Sūfī was the pupil of Mubārak-Shāh this is perhaps to be expected. However it does bring up the question of whether these manuscripts are genuine examples of the masters' hands or not.

There are only two possibilities: the manuscripts are either facsimiles made probably in Cairo, or genuine works illuminated later. In view of the fact that there is another manuscript with the signature of Yahyā⁶² al-Sūfī in an identical hand (Chester Beatty Library Ms 1475) bearing 38.1 later Ottoman illumination the manuscripts are probably not Mamluke facsimiles. As they have no contemporary inscriptions, neither waqfiyyahs nor certificates of commissioning, we cannot establish their genuineness; all we can say is that they do date from the first two-thirds of the fourteenth century.

As there is no evidence to associate the two earlier mss with Sultan Sha^Cbān, his mother, or any Mamluke ruler, and in view of the fact that there are elements that do not appear in other Mamluke Qur'ans, we

would like to suggest that illumination in the manuscripts dates from the period prior to Al-Āmidī's arrival in Cairo, and represents part of his missing earlier work to which we have referred.

As there are strong parallels between parts of the illumination in the Walters and TIEM manuscripts and that in early fifteenth century Timurid work, this suggests that Al-Āmidī must have been working in Iran/Iraq at the time when that very precise Timurid style of manuscript illumination was just beginning. One point which may indicate a link with Al-Āmidī's earlier career is the fact that the opening frontispiece of the TIEM Qur'an consists mainly of a prominent almond-shape in the centre, surrounded by Āyat al-Kursī in gold kufic. This almond motif is virtually non-existent in Mamluke and Iranian illumination in the fourteenth century, but appears to have been common in Anatolian illumination at the end of the previous century. The Mesnevi of 1278 made in Konya (Mevlana Museum, Ms. 51) is full of examples of large almond-shaped motifs occupying entire pages. We have suggested that if Al-Āmidī was a native of the Diyarbekir area he may have had some links with illuminators in Anatolia.

37.1

Summary.

The work of Al-Āmidī as exemplified by the one manuscript signed by him, Cairo National Library Ms.10 shows him to have been an original artist, extremely versatile, with a very wide repertoire of decorative motifs. Many of the latter had not been seen in Cairo-produced Qur'ans before the time of Al-Āmidī. Some of the compositions embody concepts far removed from the 'orthodox' designs of the Group II manuscripts. There are numerous parallels between the work of Al-Āmidī and Qur'an

illumination in both Iraq and Iran of earlier years.

As his name implies the painter probably did come from the area around Amid near to the present Syrian-Turkish border. His work shows elements from Anatolia, Iraq and Iran and we have postulated that he worked in one or more of those regions before going to Cairo, perhaps about the mid-thirteen-sixties.

We believe that in Cairo Al-Āmidī was responsible for the illumination of at least four manuscripts:

1. National Library, Cairo Ms. 9, before 1369.
2. " " " Ms. 15, 1374.
3. " " " Ms. 10, 1376.
4. Chester Beatty Library Mss 1464-5, British Library, Ms or 484,
Ex-Sotheby, Ms 8.4.75 (Lot 200) post-1376.

Our reasoning is based on stylistic comparison together with whatever historical evidence we have been able to uncover. It is apparent that the painter was employed on commissions for both the Sultan and at least one important emir, his favourite, Sirghitmish al-Ashrafī, though most of his production seems to have been destined for the two royal madrasahs. Al-Āmidī almost certainly worked in the same atelier as the Group II painters which had probably been set up by the Sultan and his mother to provide fine Qur'ans for their two foundations.

There are several other works which we believe it is possible to attribute to Al-Āmidī, though the evidence for his involvement is clearly not as convincing as that for his illumination of the four Cairo Qur'ans above. So we believe. All of these manuscripts are signed by famous calligraphers. We think it probable that two of them were illuminated

by Al-Āmidī, perhaps in Baghdad, while the third was probably illuminated in Cairo.

Concluding remarks.

Far from being an art historical mystery, the Qur'ans made in Cairo for Sultan Sha^cbān and his mother, which deserve to be considered among the finest illuminated manuscripts produced in any century, appear as the natural development of several forces and processes in the Near East during the first two-thirds of the fourteenth century.

The manuscripts which we have designated Groups II and III, exemplify two separate traditions which existed side by side in Egypt in the years 1300 - 1375. Group II represents that of Egypt and Syria, at times quite separate and distinct but here successfully fused for perhaps the first time in Cairo. Group III is the tradition of Iraq and Western Iran, often present in Cairo, but rarely with the force that we find it in these manuscripts.

Group II personifies the 'classic' mould of Mamluke Qur'an: monumental in size and script; sumptuous, splendid - yet rigidly precise. We think of it as prototypical, yet it is a type which can be traced back only to the beginning of the thirteen-forties. The earliest example of which we are aware - admittedly on a smaller scale - would seem to have been made in Damascus in 1338.

Group III comprises manuscripts which are the work largely of one illuminator, Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī. He was an outstanding painter, trained we believe in Baghdad and Western Iran, perhaps also spending some time in Anatolia. So unique and identifiable is his style - contrary to what is often asserted about illuminators - that we feel able to attribute a major series of manuscripts to his hand.

To trace the history of these two traditions in Egypt is by no means easy but both are clearly evident in Cairo from the very first years of the fourteenth century. They are represented in the earliest

Qur'an of unquestionable Mamluke provenance- the seven-part manuscript of Baybars al-Jāshankīr. One of the two main painters engaged on this work was either of Iraqi origin , or at least trained by Iraqi artists working on Mamluke soil. Much of his style and decorative repertoire is quite foreign to Egypt , yet can be exactly paralleled in manuscripts produced in Baghdad and to a lesser extent Mosul. Several of his compositions and stylistic details occur only in the manuscripts signed by the outstanding Baghdadi master, Muḥammad bin Aybak.

Side by side with Muḥammad bin Mubādir , the artist referred to above , was another painter , Sandal, who appears to have been the artistic director of the project and whose style of painting was entirely different. In so far as it is possible to trace the origins of this , it seems to lie in the work of thirteenth century Egypt.

The Qur'an on which they worked was clearly designed to rival , even surpass, anything that had been produced before. Indeed nothing like was seen for the next sixty years in Cairo. Exactly how it came about we cannot say with certainty but the Qur'an of Baybars appears to have been part of a phenomenon which occurred in the Eastern Mediterranean area at the beginning of the fourteenth century , namely the appearance of a number of monumental multi-part Qur'ans of outstanding quality and workmanship. Almost all of these are associated with Iraq , though others were produced in Hamadan and probably Tabriz , the majority at the request of the Ilkhanid monarch Öljaytū.

After the demise of Baybars nothing comparable to the seven-part Qur'an made for him was produced in Cairo until the thirties-sixties. It is true that several manuscripts of superb quality were

made for Al-Nāsir Muḥammad but these were of quite a different type to the manuscripts produced for Baybars and the Ilkhanids. For some reason there was no interest in repeating the example of Baybars. Such work by the Baybars team of craftsmen of which we are aware is on a much smaller and more modest scale. Most probably the group disbanded. There is no further sign of Ibn Mubādir in Cairo, and Ayduḡhdī, Sandal's apprentice seems to have left Cairo for Syria where we find him working in the second decade of the century.

During the thirteen-twenties and thirties such Qur'ans as were made in Cairo show a decline in quality coupled with an increase in size. They appear, for the most part, to have been repeating the formulae of earlier work, but on a scale that was not entirely suitable. By the thirteen-forties illumination seems to have reached its lowest ebb.

In Syria on the other hand, this was not the case. There was undoubtedly a separate Syrian tradition of which we know little due to the paucity of manuscripts from that area. However at the end of the fourth decade of the century we become aware of a number of exceptional manuscripts which seem to have been produced in Damascus. Among these the most important is unquestionably that now in the Iran-Bastan Museum which prefigures in many respects the great Qur'ans of Sultan Shaḥbān.

The conventional view that the Qur'an sent by Abū Saʿīd to Al-Nāsir, and then passed on to his favourite Baktamur in the thirteen-twenties, played a major, even decisive, role in the development of Qur'an production in Cairo, can be shown to be entirely false. Neither in layout, nor from the points of script

and illumination did it have the slightest influence. The manuscript which stands even somewhat apart from contemporary Ilkhanid Qur'ans must have been entirely foreign to Mamluke tastes. From the thirteen-thirties onwards there is nothing which shows the slightest influence of the Hamadan Qur'an. The only area where this may have been true is in the design of frontispieces. However those designs which are similar to ones found in the Hamadan Qur'an can be shown to be present in Mamluke work several years prior to 1320, ie. before the Hamadan manuscript arrived in Cairo.

There can be no denying the fact that the production of fine Qur'ans was linked to the building of religious monuments and the patronage of the ruling élite. For grandiose projects such as the production of large numbers of exceptionally fine Qur'ans it seems certain that it was necessary to involve artists, ie. illuminators from areas outside of Cairo. In the case of someone like Al-Āmidī it is quite probable that he came to Cairo specifically for the purpose of working on the manuscripts for Sha^Cban and his mother. It is not impossible that he was already in Cairo when the project was conceived, though one may wonder whether manuscripts were being produced in sufficiently large enough quantities in the period prior to the rule of Sha^Cban to warrant the appearance in Cairo of a highly skilled painter such as he.

It is probable that Al-Āmidī and the artists of the Group II manuscripts worked in the same studio, perhaps set up by the royal couple, though there are wide differences between the styles, and particularly the colour ranges of the two groups. Let us remember however, the considerable divergences between Muhammad bin Mubādir and Sandal, yet there is no doubt that both men worked on the same Qur'an for several years.

Figures 1-31.

Notes and Bibliography.

Appendices 1-4: original texts of Arabic and Persian
passages quoted.

5: Complete list of dated Qur'an manuscripts
referred to.

A complete list of all the inscriptions, colophons, etc., that occur throughout this survey in the form of figures.

Fig. 1.

امر بكتابة هذا السبع الشريف واخوته
المقرّر الكريم العالي المولى الاميرى الركنى
استاذ الدار العالية اعز الله نصره وكتب
محمد بن الوحيد حامداً لله تعالى .

Fig. 2a.

ذمّه محمد بن مبادر عفا الله عنه

Fig. 2b.

بتذهيب مندل

Fig. 2c.

تذهيب ابو بكر عُرف بـ مندل

Fig. 2d.

من تذهيب ابوبكر عُرِفَ بصندل

Fig. 2e.

زمتك هذا السبع الشريف واخوته العبد

الفقر الى الله تعالى الراجى عفو الله ورحمته

أيذخري بن عبد الله البدرى عفا الله عنه

في سنة ٧٠٥ .

Fig. 3.

للقرانة العالية المولوية السلطانية الملكية

الناصرية ادام الله ايامها ونشر في الخافقين

اعلامها وعظم قدرها وجعل ملوك الارض

طوع نهيها وامرها آمين

Fig. 4a.

وكان الفراغ من كتابتها يوم الثالث ان يقين
من شهر رمضان عام ٧١٢.

Fig. 4b.

نجرت الختمه الشريفه شرفها الله وعظمها
على يد العبد الفقير الراجي عفو ربه و غفرانه
شاذى بن محمد بن شاذى بن داود بن عيسى
بن اى بكر بن ايوب .

Fig. 4c.

هذه الفواتح و الفوائق من ادمان للعبد
الفقير الى الله تعالى الراجي عفو ربه ايدغدي
بن عبد الله البدرى نشو المعلم صندل
عفا الله عنهم .

Fig. 4d.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ زَمَكْتُ هَذِهِ الْخَتْمَةَ
الشَّرِيفَةَ أَقْلَّ عَبِيدِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى عَلَى بَنِي مُحَمَّدٍ
الرَّسَامِ عُزْرَ بِالْأَعْسَرِ عَفَا اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ .

Fig. 4e.

قَابِلُ هَذِهِ الْخَتْمَةِ الشَّرِيفَةِ مِنْ أَوَّلِهَا إِلَى آخِرِهَا
فَوَجَدَهَا سَامَةً مِنَ اللَّحْنِ وَالْغَلَطِ مَنْزُومَةً
مِنَ الْعُيُوبِ وَاللَّفْظِ كَتَبَهُ مُحَمَّدُ السَّرَاجِ
المُقَرَّرُ

ضَبَطَ هَذِهِ الْخَتْمَةَ الشَّرِيفَةَ بِالشَّكْلِ الْعَبْدِ
الْفَقِيرِ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى خَلِيلِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ الْبَهْهَنْسِيِّ
حَامِدًا مُصَلِّيًا .

Fig. 5a.

وكان الفراغ من كتابته وتذهيبه على يد العبد
الفقر الى الله تعالى الراجي عفو الله ايدغدى
بن عبد الله البدي المذهب عفا الله عنه في
سنة شعبان سنة ٧١٤ .

Fig. 5b.

للخزانة العالية المولوية السلطانية العبادية

Fig. 5c.

وقع الفراغ من كتابة هذه الختمة الشريفة
اعاد الله بركتها على من كتبت برسمه
سنة ربيع الاول سنة ٧١٤. بخط علي بن
سالم .

Fig. 5d.

ذَقِّبْهَا وَجَلِّدْهَا الْعَبْدُ الْفَقِيرُ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى

عَبْدُ اللَّهِ الْفَقْفَوِيُّ الْحَلَبِيُّ

Fig. 6a.

اللَّهُ الْمَوْفِقُ لِلْعَوَابِ. هَذِهِ خَتْمَةُ الشَّرِيفَةِ

بِرِسْمِ الْخَزَانَةِ الشَّرِيفَةِ الْمَوْلُودَةِ السُّلْطَانِيَّةِ

الْعَالِيَةِ الْعَادِلِيَّةِ الْمَلِكِيَّةِ النَّاصِرِيَّةِ مُحَمَّدٍ

سُلْطَانِ الْإِسْلَامِ وَالْمُسْلِمِينَ قَسِيمِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ سُلْطَانَهُ وَجَعَلَ الْقُرْآنَ إِمَامَهُ وَ

سَيِّدَهُ وَشَفِيعَهُ وَالْمَلَائِكَةُ الْمُقَرَّبِينَ إِلَيْهِ

أَنْصَارَهُ وَأَعْوَانَهُ وَفِي الْحَبَانِ مُسْتَقَرٌّ ۝

وَمَكَانُهُ آمِينَ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ

Fig. 6b.

كتبه ابراهيم بن علي بن سناء الملك بطرابلس الشام
جمادى الآخرة سنة ٧٤٣.

Fig. 7a.

ذهب اصف عباد محمد بن أيوب بن عبد الله
بمدينة السلام بغداد حماها الله ونجز منه
يوم الاثنين عشرين ربيع الاول سنة ٧٠٥.

Fig. 7b.

نجز بتذهيبه في شهر رمضان المبارك من سنة
٧٠٢ هجرية على يد محمد بن ايوب حامداً لله
تعالى ومصلياً ومسلماً.

Fig. 7c.

... بغداد حماها الله تعالى في سنة ٧٠٧ هلاية

Fig. 7d.

كتبه فقير الى الله جامع في كرم الله بمدينة
السلام بغداد سنة ٧٠٦ حامداً لله مصلياً
على رسول الله تعالى ...

Fig. 8.

كتب هذا الجزء وما قبله وما بعده من اجزاء
الكتاب العزيز لتعظيم دين الاسلام بتوفيق
ذي الجلال والاکرام باوامر المولى السلطان
الاعظم ظل الله في العالم غامر بلاء الله
بالعدل والامن غامر عباد الله بالفضل و
الاحسان المؤيد من الرحمان بنور الايمان
اولجايتو قان خدا بنده سلطان غياث الدنيا
والدين محمد الذي به الربيع المسكون مهتد

اتم الله نعمته عليه كما انتخبه وسلم ازمه
خلقه اليه وذلك من خالص ماله بلفه الله
من سعادة الدارين منتهى آمانه بالمصطفى محمد.

Fig. 7e.

ذقه محمد بن ابيك بمدينة السلام ذى الحجة سنة ٧١٠
هجرية حامداً لله تعالى .

Fig. 9.

وقف هذا الحزد وما قبله وما بعده من الاجزاء
الثلاثين طلباً للفوز العظيم من الله سبحانه وتعالى
يوم العرش والوقوف بين يديه المولى السلطان
الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم ظل الله فى الارض
هى مراسم السنة الغرض المخصوص بتأيت رب

العالمين المتمسك بعجل الله المبين سلطان
السلطين في الارفين غياث الحق والدنيا و
الدين اولجايتو سلطان محمد رفع الله في معارج
القهر لصانع اعماله وبلغه من سعادة الدارين
منتهى آماله بالمصطفى محمد وآله الظاهرين و
الشرها ان يكون بالروضة الشريفة في ابواب
البر التي انشأها بالسلطانية وقفًا صحيحًا
شرعيًا مؤبدًا مخلدًا لا يرهب ولا يورث الى
ان يرث الله الارض ومن عليها وهو خير الوارثين
فمن غير ذلك او شيئًا منه او قتر في حقله
فقد آء بغضب من الله ومأواه جهنم و
يئس المهير ولا يقبل الله منه صرفًا ولا عدلاً

وعليه لعنة الله والملائكة والناس اجمعين «فَمَنْ
بَدَّلَهُ بَعْدَ مَا سَمِعَهُ فَأَنَّمَا إِثْمُهُ عَلَى الَّذِينَ يُبَدِّلُونَهُ
إِنَّ اللَّهَ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ».

Fig. 10.

امر بكتابة هذه الرقعة الشريفة بقرئاً الى الله مولانا
السلطان الاعظم ايمان المعظم مالك رقاب الامم
سلطان سلاطين العرب والعجم ملك ملوك
العالم ظل الله في ارضيه وخليفته على عبادته و
منظر الحق البقين بالاحله والبراهين غياث الدنيا و
الدين اولجايتو سلطان محمد بن السلطان السعيد
ارغون بن السلطان السعيد ابا قا خان بن هولاكو
بن تولى بن جنكيز خان خلد الله دولته على

متر الدهور وامتدھا بالنصر الى يوم الغيث والنشور
على يدي وزيريه الاعظمين سلطاني وزراء
العالم مدبري المملكة المخلدة خواجه رشيد
الحق واللين وخواجه سعد الحق واللين عزيزهما.

Fig. 11.

الحمد لله منور قلوب العالمين بزواهر انوار القرآن
مزين امور العالمين بجواهر اسرار القرآن مشرف
مدور العارفين بحقائق اظهر القرآن مفتح السنة
الصادقين بدقائق تكرار القرآن ونشهد ان لا
اله الا الله شهادة مؤيده لتدكار القرآن وان
محمدًا عبده وحبيبه ورسوله المنزل عليه سور
وآيات واعشار القرآن صلى الله عليه وعلى

آله الطاهرين مخرجي در الحقيقه من بمار القرآن اما
بعد فقد امر تقرباً الى حفرة الله تعالى وأشار الى
كتابة كلامه العظيم الاعلى سلطان الاعظم مالك
قاب الام سلطان سلاطين العالم مظهر انوار الله
مظهر اسرار الله عز وجل يحى مراسم السنة
والفرض ظل الله الظليل في الارض غياث الدنيا و
الدين مفيت الاسلام وغوث المسلمين المعتمد
عجل الله المتين المنتصف للمظلومين من الظالمين
قهرمان الماء والطين [الملك الناصر] محمد المنصور
بجميع عناية الله العلى الصمد حلد الله تعالى
سلطنته وجعل بسيط الارض مملكته بحق
النبي وآله وصحبه الطيبين الطاهرين وبحق الانبياء

والمرسلين واثمة المهديين الراشدين والاولياء
والاصفياء الزاهدين .

Fig. 12.

كتبه وذخبه مثلاً للامر المطامع الداعي لدولته
من صميم قلبه وخلوه نيته الراجي الى عفو
العبداني اصفر عباده عبد الله بن محمد بن محمود
الهمداني غفر الله في جمادى الاول من شهر سنة
٧١٣ هجرية على صاحبها الصلوات بدار الخيرات
الرشيدية برهمذان حرّسها الله تعالى عن الحدثان

Fig. 13.

بسمه وقف وحسن وسبل وأبد وتمصدق
العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى حسن المسلمين مابجا

القاصدين ابر سعيد سيف الدين بكتوب بن عبد الله
الساقى الملكى الناصرى نفعه الله بالقرآن العظيم
جميع هذه الربعة الشريفة المكرمة المعظمة وعدتها
ثلاثون جزءًا على كافة المسلمين فى القراءة و
المطالعة والنقل والدراسة وقفًا صحيحًا سريعًا
وجعل مستقرها بالقبة التى بالتربة المعروفة
بافشاته بالقراقة الصغرى المجاورة لحوش الملك
الظاهر وجعل النظر فى ذلك لنفسه مدة حياته
ثم من بعده لذريته وذرية ذريته وان سفلوا
الارشاد فالارشاد فاذا انقرضت الذرية ولم
يبق منهم احد يكون النظر فى ذلك الوقت
للشيخ المقيم بالتربة المذكورة بجرى الحال فى

ذلك كذلك الى ان يرث الله الارض ومن عليها
وهو خير الوارثين و شرط الواقف المذكور ان الربة
المذكورة لا تخرج من التربة المذكورة ولا تعاد و
لا تخرج الا للاصلاح فحرام حرام على من غيره
او بدله « فَمَنْ بَنَاهُ بَعْدَ مَا سَمِعَهُ النَّبِيُّ » وقع اجر
الواقف المذكور على الله عز وجل الذى لا يضيع
اجر من احسن عملاً وذلك [بتأريخ ٧ جمادى
الاولى حتى ٢٧ جمادى الآخرة] سنة ٧٢٦.

Fig. 14a.

سُطِرَ بِصَمِ الخزانة المصورة للخدم المولى الاعظم
البحر المتواج والسراج كاشف اسرار التحقيق
والفرقان آية الله فى الكشف والبيان صاحب

النفس القدسية جامع الفضائل الانسية شمس
فلك المعارف قلب سماء العوارف اعقل
المتقدمين واكل المتأخرين المخصوص بغاية رب
العالمين المكتوب وزيراً و آدم بين الماء والطين
سلطان الوزراء والحكماء فى العالمين رشيد
الحق والدنيا والدين فضل الله بن المولى العاجب
الاعظم عماد الدولة الماضى ابنى الخير اعز الله
انصاره وضاعف اقتداره لا زال شمس
جلاله مشرقة منيرة .

Fig. 14b.

على يد العبد الضعيف احقر خلق الله عبد الله بن
ابى القاسم بن عبد الله التوى الروذراوى اصلى

الله شأنه وقاب عليه في غزاه صفر ختم بالخير
والظفر سنة ٧١٥ هجرة نبوية برحمتك يا ارحم
الراحمين .

Fig. 15.

كل المصنف المبارك محمد لله وعونه وصلى
الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم
على يدى العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى احمد بن
محمد بن كمال بن يحيى الانصارى المتطبيب بمدينة
القاهرة المقرية حرسها الله تعالى في شهر
شعبان المبارك سنة ٧٢٤ فرحم الله كاتبه
وقارئه وجميع المسلمين يا رب العالمين آمين

Fig. 16a.

برسم كتبخانة سلطان الاعدل والاكرم ابوالمظفر
شاه اسماعيل قزويني خان الحسيني

Fig. 16b.

برسم خزانة مولانا السلطان المالك المالك
الاشرف ابي النصر قايتباي اعز نصره

Fig. 17.

تم نسخه بمدينة دمشق بخط القس جرجس ابو
الفيل بن لطف الله في رياسة أنبا بطرئس مطران
القبط في اورشليم والشام وقد رُوي عن
الاصل الذي كتبه بخطه الشيخ الاسعد ابو الفرج
هبة الله ابن العسّال الكاتب المصري ...

Fig. 18.

نجز كتابة هذا المصنف الشريف على يد العبد
الضعيف الفقير الى عفو الله وغفرانه مباركشاه
السيوفي في العشر الاول من رمضان المبارك
سنة ٧٤٤ بالقاهرة المعزية حامداً لله تعالى
على نعمه السابعة ومنحه الهنيئة السايغة
ومصلحاً الخ .

Fig. 19.

وقف وحبس وسبل وتصدق العبد الفقير الى
الله تعالى ميرغشيش جميع هذا الجزء المبارك
على المشتغلين بالعلم الشريف وعلى المقيمين
بالمدرسة الحنفية المجاورة بجامع ابن طولون
المنسوبة للمقر الاشراف لينتفعوا بذلك في

الاستعمال والكتابة منه ليلاً ونهاراً يجب
لا يخرج من المدرسة المفكرة ولا يباع ولا
يرهن الخ .

Fig. 20a.

حرره العبد المذنب امير حاج بن احمد الهنايني
شوال ١٢٣٤ .

Fig. 20b.

وقفت وحبست وسبلت وحرمت وابتدت
وتصدقت مولانا الأدر الكرام ذات الستر
الرفيع والحجاب العالي المنيع جبهة الطواشي
جمال الدين فرحان هذا الجزء المبارك ... على
من يقرأ القرآن الكريم في المدرسة الفرحانية

المنشأة في نواحي تعزّ المحروس

Fig. 21a.

كتبه في أيام سلطنة السلطان الاعظم مالك رقاب
ملوك العالم مستخدم الملوك والسلاطين
اسكندر الزمان خلاصة الماء والطين جمال الملة
والدنيا والدين شرف الاسلام والمسلمين الشيخ
ابي اسحق خلد الله ملكه العبد يحيى الجمالي
الصفوي في سنة ٧٤٥ بدار الملوك شيراز .

Fig. 21b.

وقفت هذا الجرد مع ساير اجزاء الثلاثين من
كلام رب العالمين على المشهد العظيم للامام
الاعظم و المصنوع المكرّم قرّة عيون الانبياء

Fig. 22a.

وقف ... المقرّ الشريف السيفى ... لتمر...

Fig. 22b.

فرغ من ابتلاء تحرير هذا دفتر الاخير والواضح
والترجمة والتفسير بيد العبد الفقير الى رحمة الله
الغنى الخير محمد بن شيخ يوسف الآباري
[بن آبار] يُعرّف بين الاصحاب بسيد الخطا
بعد مؤن عظيم وعذاب اليم بسبب النقل
من المسوّدة السقيم (sic) والنسخة العقيم
(sic) وفُتِّحَ بقدر الوُسْع والامكان فى انواع
اللسان (sic) بعون الملك الديان فى يوم
العشر من شهر رمضان ٧٣٧ .

Fig. 23.

الحمد لله امر بأشياء هذه المدرسة المباركة مولانا
السلطان الأشرف اعز الله انصاره لوالدته تقبل
الله منها فمن ابلل شيئاً منها او من اوقافها
كان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم خصمه
يوم القيامة « فَمَنْ بَدَّلَهُ بَعْدَ مَا سَمِعَهُ النَّبِيَّ »

Fig. 24.

كتب هذا الجامع المعظم بعون الله تعالى و
عنايته يعقوب بن خليل بن محمد بن عبد الرحمن
الحنفي في شهر سنة ٧٥٧ .

Fig. 25.

هذا ما أدقف مولانا المقام الاعظم الشريف
العالى المولى السلطانى الامامى العالمى المجاهدى
المرابطى المشافى المحسنى الملاحى المالكى الملكى الاشرفى
الناصرى ناصر الدنيا والدين سلطان الاسلام والمسلمين
قاتل الكفرة والمشركين منصف المظلومين من الظالمين
قاهر الخوارج والمحدثين ابو المنظر شعبان خلد الله
ملكه وسلطانه واقامن على الرعاية كافة عدله
واحسانه وحدد له فى كل يوم نصراً وملكه بسلا
الارض برّاً وبحراً ولد مولانا المقرّ الشريف الجمالى
حسين بن مولانا السلطان السعيد الشهيد
الملك الناصر المنصور قلاوون تخدمهم الله من
رحمته جميع هذا المصنف الكريم وفقاً صحيحاً

شرعياً لينتفع به سائر المسلمين في القراءة و
غير ذلك من سائر وجوه الانتفاعات الشرعية
وشرط ان يكون مقر ذلك بالمدرسة المعروفة
بظاهر القاهرة المحروسة بخط التبتانة ولا يخرج من
المكان المذكور الا برهن بحرز قيمته وشرط في
ذلك النظر لنفسه ايام حياته ومن بعد وفاته
لمن يشترط النظر اليه في ذلك من بعده و
اشهد عليه بذلك كله في اليوم المبارك يوم
الاثنين الثالث من شهر ذي القعدة الحرام
سنة ٧٦٩ .

Fig. 26.

هذا ما وقعت الدار العالية المصونة المحجة خوند
بركة والده المقام الشريف الاعظم السلطان
الملك الاشرف ابوالمظفر شعبان خلد الله ملكه
ومان مجابها جميع هذا المصنف الكريم وثقا مصعفا
شرعيا لينتفع به سائر المسلمين في القراءة وغير
ذلك من وجوه الانتفاعات الشرعية وشرطت
ان يكون مقر ذلك بالمدرسة المعروفة بانشارها
وعمارتها بظاهر القاهرة المعروسة بخط التبانة
وشرطت ان لا يخرج من المكان المذكور الا برهن
تحرز قيمته وشرطت النظر في ذلك لنفسها ايام
حياتها ومن بعد وفاتها لمن شرطت النظر اليه
من بعدها واشهدت عليها بذلك كله اليوم

المبارك يوم الاثنين الثالث ذى القعدة الحرام ٧٦٩.

Fig. 27.

نجز هذا المكرم الشريف خامس عشر شهر الله
المكرم سنة ٧٧٤ على يد افقر عباد الله و
احوجهم الى مغفرته على بن محمد المكتب الاشرف
حامدًا لله على نعمه ومهيئًا على نبيه وآله
وصحبه النى .

Fig. 28.

وقف مولانا المقام الاعظم الشريف السلطان
المالكي الملك الاشرف ابو المظفر شعبان بن حسين
ولد المقام الشريف الشهيد المرحوم مولانا
السلطان المالكي الملك الناصر محمد بن مولانا

الناصر محمد بن مولانا الملك المنصور فلاحون الصالحين
يفيدها الله برحمته جميع هذه المصنف الكريم
وفقاً صحيحاً شرعياً تقرباً الى ربه عز وجل و
شرط ان يكون مقره والقراءة منه بالخانقاه
والمدرسة والجامع الاشرفى المعروف بإنشاء
المقام الشريف بالعصوه تجاه القلعة المنصورة
بالقاهرة المحروسة وشرط النظر فيه لنفسه ايام
حياته ثم بعده للناظر في امر الخانقاه بتأريخه
شهر الله المحرم ٧٧٨ .

Fig. 29.

عدد آيات الكتاب العزيز ستة آلاف وستمائة
وست منها الف امر والف نهى والف وعد

والف قصص واخبار والف ... وامثال وخسمائه
الحلال والحرام ومائه دعاء وتستح وستون ناسخ
ومنسوخ قال النبي صدق الله عليه وسلم من
أكرم عالماً كاتماً أكرم سبعين نبياً نجز تهميب هذا
المصنف المكرم الشريف على يد اضعف عباد
الله الكريم ابراهيم الآمدي عفا الله عنه حامداً
ومصلحاً ومسلماً .

Fig. 30.

[وقف] ... ارغون شاه الملك الاشرف اعز الله
انصاره وبلغه في الدارين آماله واوطاره جميع
هذا المصنف الكريم على جميع المسلمين ينتفعون
بذلك قراءة ونسخاً وسائر ...

Fig. 31.

وقف مولانا السلطان الملك الناصر فرج بن
السلطان الشهيد بزقوق عز نصره على ما شرح
في الجزء الاول

Notes : Introduction

1. Abbot, North Arabic Script.
2. Karabacek, arabische Papier.
3. Jeffery, Materials.
4. Abbot, op.cit., p 24, Notes 44,5.
5. Abbot, op.cit., p 24.
6. Moritz, Album, pl. 44; Lings and Safadi, No 1a , Sotheby catalogue for 25.4.79. (lot 13); James , Qur'ans , No 1.
7. Moritz, op.cit., pls. 19-30 ; James, Qur'ans , No 10. My dating on that occasion was too late.
8. University Library, Ms Add 11.116. Rice , Ibn al-Bawwab, p2.
9. Ibid. Notes 3-5.
10. Ibid. p 2.
11. Ms Revan 18.
12. Chester Beatty Ms 1421. Arberry, No 16; James, Qur'ans, No 7.
13. Rice, op.cit., Notes 9-13.
14. Chester Beatty Ms 3051.
15. Ms 1434. Arberry, No 35; James , Qur'ans, No 13.
16. Lings, Qur'anic Arts, No 21.
17. Ibid. No 10.
18. Ms Or 2165. See Note 6.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Mingana and Lewis, Ancient Qur'ans.
22. Note 7.
23. Islamic Museum Cairo, Stone inscription No 1506/77, dated 255 AH.
24. Ettinghausen, Arab Painting, p168.
25. Note 21.
26. By this he meant for copying the Qur'an.

27. Shubūh, Sijl.
28. See James , Qur'ans No 5.
29. Arab Painting , p 168.
30. James, Qur'ans, No 4.
31. In the Book of Durrow , for example. See James, Celtic and Islamic Art.
32. Atil, Art of the Arab World , No 4.
33. Lings and Safadi , pl.I.
34. Exactly as in the Ibn al-Bawwab finispiece. See James ,
Qur'ans, No 19.
35. Note 12.
36. Chester Beatty Ms 1431.
37. Chester Beatty Ms 1438. See James, Qur'ans, No 20.
38. Bib.Nat. Ms Sup. Pers. 1610.
39. Ms 1448. See Arberry, No 53 , pl. 34.
40. Survey, vol.III , p 1948.
41. Lings, Qur'anic Arts, No 11.
42. Chester Beatty Ms 1439. See James, Qur'ans, No 23.
43. Lings, Qur'anic Arts, Nos 14-15.
44. Atil, Art of the Mamlukes. See the first section on manuscript illumination.
45. Arberry, pp 18-35. This section on the Mamluke Qur'ans , and a large part of the subsequent one , on Ilkhanid mss, is in need of revision.
46. Al-Zabīdī, Hikmah, pp 86-7.
47. Lane-Poole, Art of the Saracens.
48. Bourg oin, Précis.
49. Mousa , Geschichte

50. Millenary catalogue.
51. The Al-Azhar mosque contains a number of interesting Qur'ans which due to circumstances beyond our control we were not able to examine during our stay in Cairo in November 1977.
52. Lings and Safadi, The Qur'an.
53. Hayward catalogue.
54. James Qur'ans.
55. Atil, Art of the Mamlukes.
56. See for example , Kitāb al-Fakhri of Ibn al-Tiqṭaqā (Beirut 1966) where the author recalls the visit of the Ilkhanid sultan Ghāzān to the Mustansiriyyah Madrasah in Baghdad , 698 / 1298-99 and mentions people reading from multi-part Qur'ans, p 33.
57. Hayward catalogue , No 526.
58. Ettinghausen, Ilkhanid Illumination , Survey , vol III pp 1954-59.
59. Bayani, Rahnumā.
60. Akimushkin and Ivanov, Illumination, Gray, Arts of the Book.

Notes: Chapters One to Seven

1. Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Jāshankīr al-Mansūrī , see Safadī , Wafī , No 4843 ; Maqrīzī, Sulūk , 2,i, pp 45-71 ; Ibn Iyās, Badā'i^c , 1,i, pp 423-35 ; Al-Hajji, Internal Affairs.
2. Old Latin catalogue of the British Museum Ms Add. 22406-13 ; Lane-Poole 1886, pp255-6 ; Lings and Safadī,Nos 66-9 ; Lings, Qur'anic Art, No 62 ; Hayward Gallery catalogue, No 527; Atil, Art of the Mamlukes p.23, the author appears to think the manuscript is in thirty parts; James, Observations.
3. One of the least popular divisions of the Qur'anic text.
4. Arberry No 15 pl. 33; James, Qur'ans No 24.
5. Schimell ,pl.XXIII. There is another page in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts , Ms 26.11.
6. Arberry No 59 pl.3; James, Qur'ans No 25 ; James , Observations.
7. Arberry No 60 ; James , Qur'ans Nos 26-7 ; James , Observations.
8. Sotheby catalogue for .910.78 (illustrated)
9. Unpublished.
10. Christie catalogue for 21.7.71 (illustrated)
11. Robinson et al, Ms VII, 9.
12. Millenary catalogue , No 282.
13. Christie catalogue for 16.12.70 (illustrated)
14. Unpublished.
15. Unpublished.
16. Elebheiry, Lettres.
17. Ibid .
18. There are manuscripts which may earlier Mamluke Qur'ans. For example Cairo, National Library Ms 70 , see Millenary catalogue No 280 , Atil, Art of the Mamlukes p 24 where it is wrongly described as thirty-part ; Bibliothèque Nationale Ms S/L 220 which bears a note saying that it was made for Qalāun but lacks any contemporary documentation.

19. Maqrīzī Khitat IV p 277.
20. Catologus op.cit.
21. Khitat IV p 56.
22. Creswell, Muslim Architecture vol II pp 249-50. Full bibliography.
23. Lane-Poole op. cit.
24. Badā'i^c 1, i pp 418-9.
25. Qalqashandī Subh 2 p 487 where this is described. According to the author it was used almost exclusively for Qur'ans.
26. Safadī No 3740.
27. Durar No 1104.
28. Khitat IV pp 276-8.
29. We have no positive proof but it seems most likely that the manuscript was produced in the Al-Hākim mosque. See the summary at the end of this chapter.
30. Khitat op.cit.
31. Safadī , op.cit.
32. Durar , op. cit.
33. Ibn al-Suqā^cī Tālī No 25; Nājī, Sharh p 11.
34. Tālī, No 305.
35. After signing it with his name of course.
36. Al-Kutubī, Fawāt , 2, p 220.
37. Nājī, op.cit.
38. Fadā'ilī, Atlas, see, ash^car ; Al-Tībī, Jāmi^c p18.
39. See the Mamluke Qur'ans mentional in the Khedival catalogue where the script of a manuscript is described : مكتوبة بالذهب مشقّر بالمداد الاسود.
40. Catalogue of the Royal Academy exhibition, 1931, No 717.
41. Atil, Art of the Mamlukes. See the section on illuminated manuscripts.
42. Lisān al-^cArab, vol 1 p 380.

43. Wafī, op. cit
44. Unpublished.
45. Unpublished. See James , Rashīd al-Dīn.
46. Identical decoration occurs on much metalwork of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Several other pieces of decoration by Ibn Mubādir can be paralleled in metalwork
47. Wafī, op. cit.
48. See Taghrī-Birdī (translation) vol XVI p19 : Personal names.
49. p 32.
50. According to information kindly supplied by the Kunstbibliothek no date or name of calligrapher occur on the pages.
51. Al-Badrī could be an abbreviation for Badr al-Dīn , meaning that Ayduḡhdī had been in the service of someone with this name.
52. p 34-5.
53. Lane -Poole, op. cit. p 256.
54. Charles Rieu, who was Keeper of Oriental Manuscripts at the BM.
55. Lings and Safadi, No 66.
56. Hayward Gallery catalogue, No 527. Neither this entry nor the previous one mentions Sandal.
57. Arberry, No 45, pls. 2 and 31; James , Qur'ans No 23.
58. p 54.
59. Appendix 1, iv.
60. Quatremère , 2, pt 1, p 307
61. Appendix 1, iv.
62. Khitat IV p 98.
63. Khitat IV p 102.
64. For his genealogy see Humpreys, Saladin , Table III.
65. Manhal, No 1159 ; Quatremère , 2, pt 1 p 58 , Note 56; Bib. Nat. Ms Arabe 2065 fol 131r.
66. Durar No 1921.

Arabe 2065, fol 131r.

66. Durar, No 1921.

67. Probably at the court of Al-Nāṣir Muhammad. It is interesting that in 696/1296 a candlestick was made for the mosque of Ibn Tulun by one, Shādhī bin Shirkūh, who was probably a distant relative of Shādhī bin Muhammad and a descendant of Al-Malik al-Awhad Shādhī bin al-Zāhir Dā'ūd who ruled briefly in Damascus. He died in 1305. For the candlestick see Wiet, *Objets en Cuivre*, No 123.

68. See Rice, *Studies II* p 63

69. p 65-7.

70. For example John Rylands Library, Ms Arabic 21 (788) dated 1391.

71. From Bahnasa the ancient city of Egypt near the modern Beni Mazar, south of Cairo. Visited by Ibn Batutah. See article in E.I. Bahnasā

72. See Humphreys, *Saladin*.

73. E.I. Abu'l-Fidā'.

74. Elbeheiry, *Lettres*, pls. III and V.

75. Elbeheiry, *Lettres*.

76. Ibid. p172, 174, notes 1,7.

77. See Note 10.

78. See Note 11.

79. Chester Beatty Ms 1479 and TIEM Ms 450.

80. See Note 14

81. See Note 12.

82. Unpublished but mentioned in *Fadā'ilī*, Atlas, p 319.

83. Arberry, No 63; James, *Qur'ans*, No 29.

84. Arberry, No 56; James, *Qur'ans*, No 28.

Chapter Two

1. See Huart, *Calligraphes*, p 86 for some of the names suggested. Most

of the men mentioned were probably pupils of Yāqūt at some stages in their lives and this is what has created the confusion.

2. Of course an illuminator may have been given a Qur'an and asked to work on it without knowing whether it was 'genuine' or not. Nevertheless it seems likely that a painter would only sign a manuscript which he thought was actually by a great master because of the prestige, not to mention business, it might have brought him.
3. Bayani, Rahnamā, Nos 51-4.
4. Bahrami, Iranian Art, Nos 56-7. fig 27.
5. Lings and Safadi, No 97.
6. Lings, Qur'anic Arts, pl. 48. The binding of the manuscript was discussed in detail by Ettinghausen, Covers of the Morgan Manāfi.
7. Bayani, op.cit. Nos 51-5; Bahrami op. cit. fig 27; Arberry No 92 pl. 40; James, Qur'ans No 43; James, Art of the Qur'an, p15. According to Bayani op.cit part 1 p 29, the Bastan Museum volumes were formerly in the Ardabil Shrine.
8. Bahrami op.cit.; Hayward Gallery catalogue No 526; Lings, Qur'anic Arts No 42.
9. Arberry No 92; James, Celtic and Islamic Art, pl.6; James, Qur'ans No 43; James Art of the the Qur'an, p 11.
10. Bayani op.cit.
11. Islamic Art in the Met. (No page numbers)
12. Bayani, op.cit.
13. Geschichte Ġāzān Hān, p 117: in the year 796 the tomb (qubbah-yi Ġaliyyah) was begun at ĠAdiliyyah.
14. Survey, vol II, p 1054.
15. Huart, Calligraphes, p 89-90; Khatt u Khattātān, pp 56-7; Tuhfah, p93; Qadi Ahmad, p 60-1; Fadā'ilī, p 318. The list of calligraphic histories given in Huart in the Bibliothèque Nationale

Qadi Ahmad, p 60-1 ; Fadā'ilī, p 318. Huart gives a list of histories of calligraphy in the Bibliothèque Nationale , all of which were examined in the course of this study. They contain no more information , and usually less, than the above.

16. E.I. (old edition)
17. Fadā'ilī, op.cit.
18. Shafi, Kitāb-i Maktabāt p 236-7.
19. Huart, Calligraphes, op.cit.
20. Fadā'ilī, op.cit.
21. Arberry, No 135 ; James, Qur'ans, No 42.
22. p 113.
23. Schultz, taf. 96.
24. Schultz, taf. 97 ; Safadi , Islamic Calligraphy, p 54.
25. Lings, Qur'anic Arts, Nos 46-7.
26. Schultz, taf. 98-9.
27. Schultz, taf. 96.
28. Schultz, taf. 94.
29. Ta'rīkh-i Uljāytū, p 47-8 for the building of the tomb; Survey , vol II, p 111, note 2.
30. See the Leiden catalogue of Arabic manuscripts.
31. Howorth, Pt III, p559.
32. Could this Qur'an have been the one seen by the ambassadors of the Duke of Holstein? On visiting the tomb at Sultaniyyah, the author of the 'Travels' remarks : our author observed several books half an ell square, written in Arabic characters the length of a mans finger with black and gold lines alternately ; he even procured some leaves of them which contain a paraphrase upon the Koran called the Candle of the Heart and these are to be seen in the Duke of Holstein's library. Vol.XIV of The World Displayed,

(Dublin ed. 1779 , p 46). Are these the pages now in the Royal Library, Copenhagen and was the ambassador correct in thinking them a paraphrase , or was this something else ?

33. Lings, Qur'anic Arts, p 102, No 46.
34. p 235.
35. In fact the abjad , occasionally used as a system of numbering the āyāt.
36. Sotheby catalogue for 14.7.76; Art at Auction 1976-7 ,p 331.
37. Lings ,Qur'anic Art, No 23.
38. Blochet, Notices, pp 262-78 ; Lings and Safadi, No 59.
39. Lings, Qur'anic Arts, Nos 26-7.
40. Sakissian, Miniature Persane, pl. xxiii ; Survey, pl.936A.
41. Arberry, No 91 ; James Qur'ans, No 44 ; James , Art of the Qur'an, p14.
42. Lings and Safadi, No 99; Lings , Qur'anic Arts, Nos 52-3.
43. Bayani, op.cit. pt 1, p48.
44. Reproduced in Browne, Literary History, vol III pl.V.
45. Lings, Qur'anic Arts, No 26. The pages are printed upside down.
46. Rogers, Evidence.
47. The Cairo page is a further development of the Baghdad one as another hexagon has been added to the centre. This page cannot be a copy as it is slightly earlier in date. But it is based on the same design : of that there can be little doubt.
48. Arberry No 57.
49. p 89.
50. British Library Ms Or. 1327 dated 1289 , for example.
51. He is supposed to have copied out the Qur'an once every two weeks.
See Qadi Ahmad, p 59.

Chapter Three

1. Single-volume Qur'ans 1300-16: Topkapi Ms K 3 dated 1309; TIEM Ms 238 dated Baghdad, 1311 ; TIEM Ms 261 dated 1316 ; National Library, Tehran Ms Ar. 1597 dated 1317. Multiple-volume Qur'ans: Topkapi Library Ms K 5 dated 1310 wrongly dated 1320 in Karatay.
2. Wiet, Exposition, pp 68-73 ; Survey, vol III, pp 1955-8 ; Ettinghausen, Covers of the Morgan Manafi ; Millenary catalogue No 281 ; Lings and Safadi No 100 ; Lings , Qur'anic Arts Nos 54-8 ; Rogers, Evidence.
3. Le Strange, Lands, p 194.
4. Ettinghausen, Seljuq Qur'an.
5. Rogers, op.cit.; Millenary catalogue, op.cit.
6. However see our comments on Cairo National Library, Ms 60 , p 155-8.
7. Wiet, Exposition, p 69.
8. Wiet, op.cit. p70.
9. Lings and Safadi, No 100.
10. It is quite clear that these inscriptions have been altered. In that of Juz' 21 the final rā' of al-nāsir is actually a nūn , and must have been the final letter of ul-jāytū-sultān. See photographic detail No 18.2.
11. Rogers, Evidence , goes into some detail to explain the prayer , which he seems to think appears in every juz'. It is found only in Juz' 28 and the explanation would seem to be that it was missed at the time of endowment and not obliterated.
12. Lings, Qur'anic Arts, No 51
13. p 161-3.
14. Strapwork is present in Qur'an illumination from earliest times.
15. p 78.
16. Other Ilkhanid Qur'ans do use kufic along with cursive scripts for headings , even Qur'an A (Baghdad) which is the most cons-

istent in this respect does employ some cursive inscriptions.

17. p 86.

18. p 87.

19. This is not to say that they do not appear : they do , but in limited areas.

20. Unpublished notes made in 1976 for the organisers of the Qur'an exhibition at the British Library. Kindly loaned by Dr Rogers.

21. Wiet, Exposition, pp 71-2.

22. It is strange that there should be such a gap in the dates of endowment. Perhaps the manuscript came to Baktimur from its previous owner in several loads. See p 121-2.

23. Rogers , Evidence.

24. p 157.

25. Rogers, op.cit. p 388. There are several accounts of Baktimur, the fullest being : Ibn Hajar, Durar No 1308; Ibn Iyas, Bada'i^c 1,i p 464 ; Maqrīzī, Khitat ,IV p 287 ; Ibn Taghrī-Birdī, Manhal , Bib.Nat Ms Arabe 2069 fols 78v-80r ; Al-Hajji, Internal Affairs , pp91-6; Ibn Batutah ,vol II p 411 ; Zetersteen , Beiträge , p 186.

26. Khitat IV p 287 ; Al-Hajji ,op.cit. pp 91-5.

27. Khitat ,op.cit.

28. Abu'l-Fidā' , Akhbār ,4 p94.

29. Abu'l-Fidā',op.cit. p 93.

30. p 143.

31. Rogers, Evidence ; Wiet, Exposition; Survey, p 1954-9 ; Millenary catalogue, No 281 ; Hayward catalogue, No 528 ; Lings and Safadi, Nos 100-5 .

32. p 57.

33. Quatremère, Mongols de la Perse, tome 1, preface.

34. Edinburgh University Library Ms A 26 ; Ex-Royal Asiatic Soc. Ms 20.

35. Bib. Nat. Ms Arabe 2324.
36. Ar. sutira , pass. of satara : to draw lines, write, compose. An unusual verb in this context. The normal one was kutiba/kataba. From this verb is derived maslar , used by the scribe to rule lines.
37. Shafi, Kitābat-i Maktabāt, p 236-7 ; Browne, Literary History, vol III p 84. The figures quoted in both are rather unsatisfactory.
38. The numbers of manuscripts by Yāqūt, Ibn Muqlah and Ibn al-Suhrawardī sound right , though if the latter produced only thirty-three copies in his lifetime , Rashīd must have owned practically all.
39. E.I. (old ed) Rūdhrāvar ; Le Strange , Lands, p 197.
40. Arabic al-tuviyya . For Tuvi see Le Strange, op.cit.
41. Karatay C.1 No 137.
42. al-hamadhānī is the nisbah of Qur'an B iii (Hamadan) , where we know the manuscript was copied. Similarly with British Library Ms Add 7222 copied in Sabzavar (Lings and Safadi, No 108). But as the scribe of the Topkapi manuscript uses the district as well as the town in his nisbah , this indicates that he had probably left the area.
43. Survey, pl. 936B ; Hayward catalogue, No 529.
44. Afshar and Minovi, Waqfiyyah .

Chapter Four

1. Bourgoin, Precis, pl. XXXV-VII; Mousa, Buchmalari, pp 64-5 , pl. 40 ; Millenary catalogue , No 284 ; Lings and Safadi , No 73 ; Lings, Qur'anic Arts, No 63 ; Atil , Art of the Mamlukes , No 3.

2. Lane, Lexicon tatabbaba : he applied himself to the science of physic , or applied himself to the science of physic but did not know it well.
3. Huart, Calligraphes, p86,88.
4. Atil , op.cit. Unfortunately it has not been possible for us to examine this manuscript.
5. Unpublished.
6. Arberry, No 78; James , Qur'ans, No 30.
7. Chester Beatty Ms 1479 , for example which measures 33 x 25cm.
8. Atil, op.cit.
9. Chester Beatty Ms 1496 , see James, Qur'ans, No 37.
10. Bourgoin, Precis, pl. XXXV.
11. Millenary catalogue , No 284.
12. op.cit pls. 51-2; Rogers , Evidence.
13. p 100
14. This technique does occur in a few isolated instances in the Baybars Qur'an , notably in Sub^C 5.
15. Unpublished. It contains decorative features identical to those in Cairo Ms 81 and Chester Beatty Ms 1481.
16. We have seen Mamluke, Iranian and Anatolian examples.
17. p 77 (13.4)
18. Unpublished.
19. Unpublished.
20. E.I. kātib . In Mamluke times this meant secretary rather than scribe.
21. Although the preposition min is omitted, we must assume that the relationship implied by this word was intended here. It expressed a master-slave association , or sometimes a fillial one.

22. For Arghūn Shāh see: Maṣrīzī, Sulūk 2, iii p 812. According to Maṣrīzī Arghūn was of Mongol (sīnī) origin and was owned at one stage by Abu Saʿīd and then Dimashq-Khojā but was later given as a gift to the Mamlukes - presumably to Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He was governor of Safad in 748 and was appointed to Damascus in the same year where he was murdered in 750/1349. See also Ibn Iyās, Badaʿi^c 1, i and Al-Ḥalabī, Aʿlām 2.
23. Millenary catalogue, No 286.
24. Bayani, op.cit. No 57, p 23. The inscription of Shāh Ismāʿīl on the cover is given and the correct date. Catalogue of Royal Academy Exhibition of Persian Art of 1931, No 717 where the wrong date is given (738). Full information is given but the manuscript was clearly regarded as Iranian. At this time the Qurʾan was in the Ardabil shrine. Bahrami, op. cit. No 57.
25. Ibid.
26. Abuʾl-Fath Bahrām-Mīrā, see: Zambaur p 262. Bahrām was a well-known calligrapher, see: Ghulām Muḥammad, Padāyish, p 148, also Qadi Ahmad.
27. Survey, pl.966A.
28. Ibn Iyās, Badaʿi^c, 4 p 219. In 917/1511 Qansūh received a messenger for Shāh Ismāʿīl who brought him the head of Uzbek Khan, whose territory he had taken and there is a reference to a Qurʾan being presented to the Mamluke sultan from Ismāʿīl.
29. The nisbah, al-muhsinī, is also shared by the scribe of the Qurʾan in the Keir collection, VIII, 9, Muḥammad bin Bilbek al-Muhsinī. According to Ibn al-Dawadārī, Kanz, X p 354 Bilbek al-Muhsinī was brought from Antioch after its capture in 1268. He fell into the hands of some mamlukes of the tawashī Muḥsin, hence his name. His son who was governor of Cairo, is often referred to as 'Ibn

al-Muhsinī'.

30. Bayani, op.cit. No 57, p 28.
31. p 24 (Number 5 in the list). See also p 41.
32. See also TIEM Ms 447 dated 1314 . The strapwork in the Bastan manuscript is of a finer type.
33. Ms 55(1).See Millenary catalogue , No 283.
34. Sub^c 4 of the Baybars Qur'an employs a kind of strapwork with squares. This is an isolated example in early Mamluke work and does not occur in the work of Sandal or Aydughdī.
35. Millenary catalogue , No 61 and the references quoted there. Similar ones have recently been discovered in Topkapi Saray, see: Tezcan, Kuran Mahfazasi ; Çig, Koran Cases.
36. Rogers, Evidence.
37. Unless we include the blossoms in the frontis-pieces of Juz' 8 which are possibly peonies.
38. Asbā^c 3,5,7.
39. Lings , Qur'anic Arts, Nos 54-9.
40. See Lings , op.cit. for examples
41. op.cit. Nos 73-4
42. op.cit. Nos 66-7; Bourgoin, IV , pl. 2,4.
43. p 67.
44. Simaika Pasha, Coptic and Arabic Mss, pls. XVIII-XX ; Cramer, Buchmaleri, p 40, pls. 26-7; Millenary catalogue , No 285.
45. Cramer, op.cit.; Leroy, Manuscripts Coptes-Arabes.
46. Leroy, op.cit. pp 178-80, pls. 5,9 Ms 196 in the Coptic Patriarchate , dated 1291 , Ms 92 Coptic Museum dated 1272. See also Simaika Pasha, op.cit. pl. XXIV.
47. Another point of similarity between this and later manuscripts is the concave shape of cartouches.

48. See Simaika Pasha ,op.cit. pp 10-11.
49. TIEM Ms 723 dated 1310, Baghdad.
50. Unpublished.
51. ^cAshr : a month consists of three ten day and night periods , each one called an ^cashr . See Lane , Lexicon Pt. V p 205.
52. Huart, Calligraphes,p 92
53. Tuhfah , p381
54. Huart, op.cit. p 92.
55. Tuhfah, op.cit.
56. Fadā'ilī , Atlas , p 317
57. Salar Jang, Ms 3 (182) in naskh dated 7(?) / 13(?) at Cairo.
58. p 173.
59. Fadā'ilī , op.cit.
60. p 253. We think it was copied in 744 / 1345 but illuminated later.
61. Millenary catalogue, No 287 (?) ; Lings and Safadi, No 74.
62. This is mentioned in the Khedival catalogue but seems to have been missed by all other writers who have mentioned it.
63. For example Juz' 26, Bastan Ms 35032.
64. Lings, Qur'anic Arts, No 41.
65. Ms 1469 p
66. p 165 (34.3)
67. See, Khitat IV,p 256-8 ; Van Berchem, Matériaux ,p240-1.
68. Van Berchem, ibid.
69. Manhal , Bib. Nat. Ms Arabe 2070, fol.156v; Sulūk 3,i p44; Durar No 1973.

Chapter Five

1. This and the following three are unpublished.
2. Arberry, No 192 , wrongly described as Turkish; James ,Qur'ans, No 54.
3. There is apparently another manuscript in the National Library , Cairo

which it has not been possible to examine , Ms Timūriyyah 366.

Fadā'ilī, p 316 mentions other manuscripts in India and Tehran.

4. Tuhfah, p 288 ; Khatt va Khattātān, no 16 p 54, No 54 p 274;
Qadi Ahmad, p 61.
5. Tuhfah, op.cit.
6. E.I. Baghdad ; the madrasah was begun under Uzūn Hasān (d 1356)
and finished under his successor Shaykh Uways. Khojā Marjān bin
Abdallāh was a former mamluke of Öljaytū , and governor of
Baghdad , see Cooke, Baghdad , p 171 and for inscriptions ,
Salman et al, Texts.
7. Naqqash , Lane, Lexicon ,VIII p2840 , originally meant anyone
who engraved or did sculpted work. Later it had the general
of artist or craftsman, see James, Mesul Metalworker.
8. There is a roughly contemporary example in a Coptic Bible in
the British Library, Ms Arundel Or 12.
9. See the two manuscripts illuminated by Ibn Aybak.
10. The Qur'an copied for Rashīd al-Dīn .
11. See Chester Beatty Ms 1470 of 1338 copied in Maraghah.
12. Arberry No 69-74.
13. Sotheby catalogue for 27.482.
14. Atil, Art of the Mamlukes , p 28 Note 6.
15. The Bastan Qur'an of 1339 for example.
16. Boyle , Additional Notes , p 39.
17. Le Strange, Lands , p 223.
18. Cambridge History of Iran , p 409.
19. is. jihah , see Dāhiry , bāb 7 .
20. See, Al-Akwa^c , Madāris , No 121
21. Bayani, op.cit. Nos 59-60.
22. Bahrami, op.cit. No 60.

23. Lings and Safadi, No 110; Lings , Qur'anic Arts, No 50.
24. Quoted in Bahrūzī , Bina , p115.
25. According to Fadā'ilī , Atlas , p320, on his visit to the Pars Museum in 1927 he saw 30 parts (sī pārah-yi qur'ān) of this manuscript.
26. Bayani , op.cit. is the only person to mention the name of the illuminator, but there is no reason to doubt him. 'The nisbah al-^calawī suggests that like the copier of the Mosul Qur'an for Öljaytū , he claimed descent from^cAlī bin Abī Tālib.
27. Mostafavi, Pars, pp 42-3. Also Shadd al-Izār pp 291-2, Note 5.
28. Ibn Batutah, vol II, p 307 and Note 121.
29. Ibid ,vol I, p 153 Note 318.
30. Shadd al-Izār , p 65 , Shaykh Sadr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kartanī who preached in the Jamī^c al-^cAtiq (d. 702 /1302) could recite the Qur'an backwards.
31. Qadi Ahmad, pp 28,62 ; Fadā'ilī, Atlas , 319-21. Earlier writers confuse this calligrapher with the Ottoman Yahyā al-Sūfī of Edirne.
32. Ibn Batutah , vol II , p 306 Note 118.
33. Unpublished but mentioned by Fadā'ilī , Atlas , p 320.
34. Ms 1475, Arberry, No 184; James Qur'ans , No 50.
35. Mostafavi , op.cit. p 226.
36. Ibid. p44 ; Wilber , Masjid-i ^cAtiq for an account of this edifice.
37. Shadd al-Izār p 288 for what happened to these manuscript.
38. Lings, Qur'anic Arts, Nos 26-7.
39. See Eckmann, Turkic Glosses for an account of some of these.
40. Ibid. p13 ; Erdoğan , Kuran Tercimiler , pp 47-57 ; İnan, Kur'ân-i Kerîm.
41. Lings and Safadi , No 109.
42. Mingana, Old Turkish Manuscript ; Mingana, Rylands catalogue.

43. Eckmann, op.cit, p 16.
44. Unpublished
45. Eckmann, Two Fragments; James, Qur'ans No 46.
46. Arberry, No 134, Spinks, Islamic Art of India , p39. Described variously as 'Mamluke', 'Sultanate' but is almost certainly Iranian. The only known surah-heading has squares of strapwork on either end as we see in several Iranian Qur'ans from the early part of the fourteenth century. The kufic inscriptions on every folio are a unique and curious feature.
47. Arberry, No 83, pl.38. Described as Mamluke.
48. Koran, No 67, pl.35. There is more in the National Library, Tehran. It is wrongly described by Arberry as Mamluke.
49. This reading may be questioned but the 'tamur' part seems clear.
50. It looks like 'al-Ābārī' , but could be 'bin Ābārī' . The barely legible translation beneath certainly finishes 'oğlu', Turk. 'son of'.
51. The Arabic is corrupt. Lings and Safadi give Sayyid al-Khuttāt, though the usual plural in this case would be khattātīn.
52. p 229.

Chapter Six

1. Bourgoin , Precis, pls 23-4 ; Moritz , Album, pls 54-5; Hayward Gallery catalogue, No 536 ; Lings , Qur'anic Arts, Nos 73-4.
2. Unpublished.
3. Unpublished.
4. Bourgoin, Precis, pls 1,23 ; Moritz, Album, pls 52-3; Millenary catalogue No 238; Lings and Safadi No 79, pl XII; Lings , Qur'anic Arts, Nos 75-7.
5. James, Art of the Qur'an , p 12 ; Atil, Art of the Arab World , p 93, 96-7. There are more pieces in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Ms 30.780.

6. Bourgoïn, Précis, pls 2,3,4,22 ; Moritz, Album, 56-7 ; Lings and Safadi , No 81 , pl XIV ; Lings, Qur'anic Arts Nos 67-8.
7. Bourgoïn, Précis , pls 5,6,7 ; Moritz, Album, pls 62-3 ; Ettinghausen, Arab Painting, pp 173-5 ; Millenary catalogue, No 286 ; Lings and Safadi , No 80, pl XIII ; Lings, Qur'anic Arts, p 119, No 64-5; Atil, Art of the Mamlukes , No 4.
8. Bourgoïn, op.cit, pls 9-13 ; Moritz, op. cit., pl 51 ; Millenary catalogue, No 289 , pl 55 ; Lings and Safadi, No 82-3, pl XV ; Lings , Qur'anic Arts, p 120, Nos 69-70 ; Atil, Art of the Mamlukes, No 5.
9. Bourgoïn, op.cit., pls 14-16 ; Moritz, op. cit., 58-9 ; Millenary catalogue , No 290 ; Hayward catalogue , Nos 539-40; Lings , Qur'anic Arts, p 120 , Nos 71-2 , Atil, Arts of the Mamlukes No 6.
10. Moritz, op.cit., pls 60-1.
11. Khitat , IV, p 250.
12. Tabbānah , Ar. the straw-sellers.
13. ^cAlī Pasha , vol 2 , 102; Zaki, Al-Qāhirah , p 132.
14. Van Berchem, Matériaux, p 278-84.
15. Maqrīzī, Sulūk , V,ii, p 210.
16. Van Berchem, op.cit.
17. ^cAlī Pasha , vol 2, p 104.
18. Khitat, IV p 252 ; Salīm, ^cAsr , vol 3, p 52.
19. Rather uncommon in Mamluke Qur'ans.
20. However, see our remarks on the work of Al-Āmidī , p 245-50.
21. See, Hayward catalogue , No 536.
22. James, Qur'ans , No 43.
23. p 65-7.
24. See Ibn Aybak's illumination in the 1302-7 Baghdad Qur'an.

25. By this time shahīd simply meant any deceased muslim.
26. Amīn, Awqāf , p 257.
27. p 63
28. Topkapi Ms EH 202.
29. Baybars Qur'an Sub^c 7; Chester Beatty Ms 1479 ; Keir Ms VII,9;
TIEM Ms 434; British Library Ms Or 848.
- 30.p 146.
31. See Ridley, Style, and Medley, Handbook.
32. Ridley , op.cit., p 107; Li, Garden Flowers.
33. Ridley , op.cit., p 107 , shown with the lotuses.
34. p 47.

Chapter Seven

1. mukarram is sometimes used as an adjective to describe the Qur'an but rarely for the manuscript itself , meaning 'venerated object'.
2. Lane, Lexicon 7, p2591 , muktib , quoting the Sihāh. Millenary catalogue gives 'maktab' which must be an error , Atil, Art of the Mamlukes, 'mukattib'.
3. The Millenary catalogue says unpublished but Bourgoin reproduced several pages , see Note 9 in Chapter Six.
4. This is the number of āyahs in the Qur'an according to the Kufan numeration.
5. p 240.
6. TIEM Ms 261, dated 1316.
7. Chester Beatty Ms 1479 and TIEM Ms 450.
8. Baybars Qur'an, Sub^c 2.
9. British Library Ms Or 1327, dated 1289 ; Leroy , Manuscripts Coptes-Arabes, pl 9.
- 10.p 250.

11. p 163-6.
12. Lings, Qur'anic Arts, No 52.
13. Ibid. No 64.
14. Ibid. No 71.
15. Ill. 23.3.
16. Chester Beatty Library Mss 1464-5 ; British Library Ms Or 848.
17. Lings , Qur'anic Arts No 61. Described there as Ilkhanid. But
see, James, Recent Discoveries.
18. Atil, Art of the Mamlukes , p41.
19. James, Qur'ans, No 48.
20. Arberry, No 45, pl 31.
21. Wiet, Lampes, pl xxxvi.
22. Rogers, Evidence.
23. E.I. Āmid.
24. E.I. Artukids.
25. E.I. Āk Koyunlu.
26. Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey.
27. According to Zambaur , Manual, ^cAlā' al-Dīn Khalīl bin Maḥmūd
reigned from 753 until 758.
28. Presumably a native of Saveh , the town in Iran between Hamadan
and Rayy, see Le Strange, Lands, pp 211-2.
29. Christie catalogue for 24.4.80.(Lot 88).
30. See, Önder, Konya, p 332; James, Qur'ans, No 69; James, Masterp-
ieces, No 30.
31. It is identical to that in Pars Museum Ms 417 , see , Lings,
Qur'anic Arts, No 60.
32. For Tūrān-Shāh see, Mostafavi ,Pars, p 39.
33. Atil, Art of the Mamlukes, No 5.
34. Bourgoin, Précis, pls 9-13.

35. Moritz, Album, pls 60-1.
36. Ettinghausen, Arab Painting , pp 173-5.
37. See Chapter Six , Note 7.
38. Atil, Art of the Mamlukes , p 37.
39. Manhal , Bibl. Nat. Ms Arabe, 2068 , fol. 159r.
40. Ibid., Bibl. Nat. Ms Arabe, 2070 , fol. 194r.
41. p 158.
42. Arberry, Nos 75-6, pl 37; James, Qur'ans , Nos 31-35; Atil, Art of the Mamlukes, Nos 1-2.
43. Lings and Safadi, No 75, pl IX; Lings, Qur'anic Arts, Nos 37-40; Safadi, Calligraphy, p 74.
44. Sotheby catalogue for 8.4.75. (Lot 200). As this is being written another section from the manuscript has been submitted to Sothebys for the July 1982 sale.
45. Khitat IV, p252 ; Eche, Bibliothèques , p 258.
46. Reigned briefly from 783 to 784 as Al-Sālih Salāh al-Dīn.
47. The fact that the large size of the manuscripts is mentioned means that they probably from our Groups II and III, where size is particularly noticeable.
48. khutūt mansūbah , which must mean manuscripts copied in fine calligraphic hands , after the tradition of Ibn al-Bawwāb.
49. ^cAlī Pasha , 2, p 104.
50. Khitat , IV, p 263.
51. Ibid., p 253-4 ; Eche , op.cit.
52. Ibid., p 254.
53. The manuscript was mentioned by Ettinghausen in his study of Ilkhanid illumination in the Survey of Persian Art , vol III p 1954, Note 9 , but has never been published. In the sixteenth century it was rebound, given new margins and had a Persian inter-

linear translation added.

54. p. 174-5.

55. p 150-1.

56. p 237.

57. p 233.

58. p 245-50.

59. Chester Beatty Ms 1470 , see James , Qur'ans No 48.

60. TIEM Ms 238 , see p

61. p 235.

62. Arberry, No 184 , pl. 60; James, Qur'ans , No50.

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Appendices 1-4.

Appendix 1, i. Ibn Iyās' account of the Qur'an written for Baybars
al-Jāshankīr. Badā'i^c al-Zuhūr, Pt 1, 1 pp 418-9.

ثم دخلت سنة ٧٠٥

فيها ابتداء الاتابكي بيبرس الجاشنكير بعمارة
خانقته التي برحبة باب السعيد قبالة الدرب
الاصفر قيل لما كملت عمارة هذه الخانقاه كتب
الشيخ شرف الدين ابن الوحيد للاتابكي بيبرس
ختمه في سبعة اجزاء في ورق قطع البغدادي
بقلم الاشعار قيل ان الاتابكي بيبرس اصرف
على ليقة هذه الاجزاء الف و سبعمائه دينار
حق كتبت بالذهب و وصعها في الخانقاه وهي
من محاسن الرمان .

Appendix 1,ii. Ibn Hajar's account of Muhammad bin al-Wahid with a reference to the Qur'an he wrote for Baybars.

Al-Durar al-Kaminah , No. 3740

٣٧٤٠ — محمد بن شريف بن يوسف الزرعي ثم النعري شرف الدين ابن الوحيد كاتب الشريعة الشريفة بجامع الحاكم ولد بدمشق سنة ٦٤٧ وتعالى انخط المنسوب وسافر إلى بعلبك وتعلم من ياقوت وغيره وبلغ الغاية في قلم التحقيق وفضاح النسخ فلم يكن في زمانه من يدانيه فيهما وكان تام الشكل حسن البزة متأنقا في أموره يتكلم بعدة اللسن وكان يبيع المصحف نسخا بلا تذهيب ولا تجليد بألف حتى إن بعض تلامذته كان يخاف أن يخطه فمكأن هو يشتري المصحف من تلميذه بأربع مائة ويكتب في آخره كتيبه محمد بن الوحيد فيشتري منه بألف وكان يتهم في دينه حتى قيل إنه صب في دواته نبيذاً وكتب منها المصحف، وكان أخوه علاء الدين مدرس الباذرائية يحط عليه ويذكره بالسوء واتصل شرف الدين بخدمة بيبرس الجاشنكير قبل السلطنة وحظي عنده حتى استكتبه ربعة بايئة الذهب فلما فيها ألفا وستمئة دينار قليل دخل في الربعة ستمئة وأخذ هو البقية فرفع ذلك إلى بيبرس فقال : متى يعود آخر يكتب مثل هذا وزمكها صندل ووقفها بخزانة كتيبه بجامع الحاكم ولا نظير لها في الحسن ، وأثابه الجاشنكير بإدخاله ديوان الإنشاء فلم يبلغ فيه ما يراد منه وكانت الكتب التي تدفع إليه ليستكتبها في الأشغال تبیت عنده وما تنجز وبلغ كاتب السر

شرف الدين بن فضل الله عنه كلام فيه منه أنه تنقعه فطايه وقال : اكتب وعجل إلى صاحب اليمن ، وهدد قوائمه وزعزعه أركانته وتوعده ، ثم لحن القول حتى لا ييأس ، ثم عاد ببعض تلك الفاظته ، وعرفه أن حططنا عنا لأبيه قبله منعنا من تجهيز عساكر أولها عندنا وآخرها عنده . وإذا فوشئت لأزله عن سرير الملك وما أشبه ذلك . وأسرع في كتيبه لأدخل فقرا على السلطان ، فبیت من الوحيد وسقط في يده وأرعد ولم يدر ما يقول إلا أنه استغفر وضرب العنق

حتى رق له وقال : لا تعد تكثر فضولك ، وكان بن الوحيد بنظم وينثر إلا أنه
 لا يكن له دربة . وفي نظمه ليس مع معرفة جيدة بالعربية واللغة . وله قصيدة في
 مدارسة لامية العجم سماها « سرمد الالام » ووقع بينه وبين محيي الدين البغدادي
 مباحثة ، فعمل له محيي الدين منشور المشهور وأقطعه فيه قائم افرمل وأم عروق
 وما أشبه هذه الأماكن ، قال الصندي : وقفت على خواص الحيوان في مادة
 الضبع ، قال : ومن خواص شعره أن من تحمل بشيء منه حدث له البغاء . وعلى الهامش
 بخط ابن البغدادي : أخبرني الثقة شرف الدين بن الوحيد أنه جرب هذا فصيح
 معه ، وقال ابن سيد الناس : قال ابن الوحيد قولهم النبيذ بغير دسم سم ، وبغير
 نغم غم لا ثلث لثنتين السجعتين ، وقد عززتهما بثالث وهو بغير المايح قبيح ،
 قال : وهو استدراك واه لأن الغرض الجناس ، وإلا فجرد السجع يمكن وقوع
 أكثر من ذلك ، قال الصفدي : قال وقد تكلفت لها ثلثاً وهو بغير نهم هم
 وقف شافع بن علي على شيء من خط ابن الوحيد فكتب إليه :

أرانا يراع ابن الوحيد بدائعا تشوق بما قد انهجته من الطرق
 بهافات كل الناس سبعا فحبذا يمين له قد أحرزت نصب السبق
 شافع قد أضر :

لا سمعنا سمع سيا بمحكمة فساد من راح ذا علم وذا حسب

لقد أتى منه مدح صيغ من ذهب مرصعا بل أتى أبهى من تذهب
فكدت أنشد لولا نور باطنه أنا الذي تظر لأعنى إلى أدبي

فلما بلغ ذلك شافعا قمت قيامته وكتب إليه :

نعم نظرت ولكن لم أجد أدبا يا من غدا واحدا في قلة الأدب
جازيت مدحي وتقربني بمعية والعيب في الرأس دون العيب في الذنب

إلى أن قال :

خالفت وزني عجزوا الروى معا فذاك أقبح ما يروى عن العرب

قال الصفدي : احترز ابن الوحيد بقوله (لولا نور باطنه) ولم يفده ذلك :

مات في شعبان سنة ٧١١ بالمرستان وقد شاخ . قال الذهبي : كان تام الشكل حسن
البزة ، موصوفا بالشجاعة يتكلم بعدة اللسن ويضرب بكتابه مثل . وكان سافر
إلى العراق واجتمع مع ياقوت الكاتب ، وقال ابن الزملاكني : كاتب مشهور
جيد الكتابة حسن الطريقة اشتهر حتى قصد من عدة جهات : وكان حسن
التعليم وله في ذلك قصيدة جيدة المقاصد ، ومن نظمته :

يقولون لي من أرغد الناس عيشة ومن بات عن سبل الخواف نائيا

فقلت لبيب عارف قهر الهوى وصار بحكم الله والرزق راضيا

Appendix 1,iii. Al-Safadī's account of Muhammad bin al-Wahīd with a reference to the Qur'an he wrote for Baybars.

Al-Wafī bi'l-Wafayāt, No 1104.

ابن شريف

(١١٠٠) « ابن الوحيد الكاتب » محمد^(١) بن شريف بن يوسف الكاتب شرف الدين ابن الوحيد صاحب الخط الفائق والنظم والفن ، كان تام الشكل حسن البزة موصوفاً بالشجاعة متكلماً بلسان يضرب المثل بحسن كتابته ، توفي سنة إحدى عشرة وسبع مائة وقد شاع في شهر شعبان ، سافر إلى العراق واجتمع بيقوت الجوز ، واتهم في دينه ، قيل أنه وضع الحجر في الدواة وكتب بها المصحف وأخوه مدرّس

الباذرائية ممن يحطّ عليه ويذكره بالسوء ، وكان قد اتصل بخدمة بيبرس الجاشنكير وأعجبه خطّه فكتب له ختمة في سبعة أجزاء بليقة ذهبية قلم الأشعار ثلث كبير قطع البغدادي دخل فيها جملة من الذهب أعطاه لها الجاشنكير برسم اللقمة لا غير ألفاً وست مائة دينار أو ألفاً وأربع مائة دينار فدخل الختمة ست مائة دينار وأخذ الباقي فقبل له في ذلك قتال ، متى يعود آخر مثل هذا يكتب مثل هذه الختمة ؟ وزمّسها صندل المذهب رأيتها في جامع الحاكم وفي ديوان الإنشاء بقاعة الجبل غير مرة وهي وقف بجامع الحاكم وما أعتد أن أحداً يكتب مثلها ولا مثل تزيكها فانهما كانا فردي زمامهم وأخذ من الجاشنكير عنها جملة من الأجرة ، ودخل به ديوان الإنشاء فما أنجب في الديوان وكانت الكتب التي تدفع إليه ليكتبها في أشغال الناس تبيت عنده وما تتمجز وهذا تعجيز من الله مثل هذا الكاتب العظيم فبانه كتب الأفلام السبعة ضبّة وأما فصاح النسخ والمحقق والريحان فما كتبه أحد أحسن منه ، وهو شيخ خطيب بعلبك وغيره ، وله رسائل كثيرة وقصيدة سمّاها « سرد اللام في معنى لامية المعجم » ونظمه فيه بيس قليل ، وأحسن ماله ما نظم في تفضيل الحشيشة على الخمر :

وما قاله أيضاً :
 وخضراء لا الجراء تفعل فعلها
 توجب ناراً في الحشوا وهي جنة
 لها وثبات في الحشا وثبات
 ومبدي مرير العلم وهي نبات

وكان ناصر الدين شافع قد وقف على شيء من نظم شرف الدين ابن الوحيد قال :
 جنة الخلف في الزمان مضيق
 كالنور في الدولاب يسى وهو لا
 وابن أرتقى أستاذة وزمانه
 يدري الطريق فلا يزال مكانه
 تشوق عما قد أنهجته من الطرق

فقال ابن الوحيد :
 سافات كل الناس سبقاً فحيداً
 بين له قد أحرزت قصب السبق

فلم بلغت ناصر الدين شافعاً هذه الأبيات قال :
 يا شافعاً شفع العليا بحكمته
 بابت زيادة خطي بالسمع له
 فبجاءني منه مدح صيغ من ذهب
 فكذبت الشد لولا نور باطنه
 فساد من راح ذا علم وذا حسب
 وكان يحكيه في الأوضاع والنسب
 مرضعاً بل أتى أسهى من الذهب
 أنا الذي نظر الأعمى إلى أدبي

نعم نظرت ولكن لم أجذ أدباً
 جازيت مدحى وتقرى في جمعة
 وزدت في التمر حتى قلت منتسباً
 بابت زيادة خطي بالسمع له
 كذبت والله لن أراضاه في عمري
 جازيت ذري وقد نصدته كما
 وما فهمت مرادي في المديح ولو
 يا من غداً واحداً في قلة الأدب
 والعيب في الرأس دون العيب في الذنب
 بخطك اليأس المرئي كالخطب
 وكان يحكيه في الأوضاع والنسب
 يا ابن الوحيد وكم صنف من كذب
 يروق مع الورى ذراً بمتحلب
 فهمته لم توجهه إلى الأدب

سأتبع القاف إذ جلوبت مفتخراً بالزاي يا غافلاً عن سورة الغضب
خالفت وزني عجزاً والروي ممأ وذلك أقبح ما يروى عن العرب
قلت : ابن الوحيد منظور في المدول عن الوزن والقافية فإنه ما كان يجد في ذلك
الوزن والقافية مثل قول أبي الطيب :

أنا الذي نظر الأعمى إلى أدبي
لأن ناصر الدين شافهاً كان قد عني بأخيه رحمه الله كلاً ، وأرسل ابن الوحيد
إلى السراج الوراق وقد مرخص رخصة بخطه ومعهما أبلوجة شكر قتل السراج :

أرسل لي أين الوحيد لمأ مرضت بالألمن جام شكر
ومدحة لي بقطعه لي قلت ذا شكر مكر
حلى وحلى في وجيدي عقد شراب وعقد جوهري

وكان الواقع عظيمًا بينه وبين محبي الدين ابن البغدادي وابن البغدادي له عمل ذلك
المنشور الذي أنظمه فيه قايم الهرمل وأبو عروق وما أشبه هذه الأماكن ، وقد وقعت
على كتاب خراسان الحيدوي ، وفي بعضه : ذكر الصنيع من خواص شعرها أنه
من المحتمل بشيء منه حدث به الهناء ، وقد كتب ابن البغدادي على المأش : أخبرني
الثقة شرف الدين ابن الوحيد الكاتب أنه جرب ذلك فصيح به أو كما قال .

Appendix 1, iv. Al-Safadi's reference in his account of Baybars
al-Jāshankīr to the Qur'an written for him by
Ibn al-Wahīd, No 4843.

عمر الجامع المحامي بعد الزلزلة وادق
عليه الكتب النفيسة وكتب ختة بالذهب
في سبعة اجزاء قطع البغدادى كتبها له
شرف الدين محمد بن الوحيد بقلم الاشعار
ذهبا اخذها لينة الف وستائة دينار
وزمكا وذهبها صندل المشهور وعزم
عليها جملة من الاجر ولم يعد يتهيا لاحد
انشاء مثلها ولا من تسوهمته الى ان
يغرم عليها مثل ذلك وعمر الخانقاه الركنية
... ورتب لها فيما قيل اربع مائه صوفى .

Appendix 2, i. Rashīd al-Dīn's account of the libraries established by him next to his tomb in the Rab^o-i Rashīdī. From Shafi, Kitāb-i Maktabāt, (Punjab Univ. Publ., 7(14) pp 236-7.

دو بیت الکتب که بخوار گنبد خود از زمین و یسار
ساخته ام از جمله هزار عدد مصحف در آنجا نهاده ام
وقف کرده ام بر ربع رشیدی و مفقّل آن
بدین موجب است: آنچه علّ طلا نوشته است
۴۰۰ عدد آنچه بخط یا قوت است ۱۰ عدد
آنچه بخط ابن مقله است عددان آنچه بخط
احمد سهروردی است ۲۰ عدد آنچه
خطوط اکابر است ۲۰ عدد آنچه که خطوط
روشن خوب نوشته است ۵۴۸ عدد.

Appendix 2,ii. Rashīd al-Dīn's directions for the type of Qur'ans
to be made at the Dār al-Masāhif in the Rab^c-i
Rashīdī. From Afshar an Minovi, Waqfiyyah , 106-7
Tehran , 1971.

یکی جامع قرآن مجید در سی جلد خط نیکو تمامست
معرب و معجم اعراب و معجم درست چنانکه مفید
که قرات باشد از قرات سبعة و آن بقطع
حال بزرگ بغدادی باشد و مذقوب برد بهر که
مبنی باشد از اعراب و اخناس و ردوس آیات
جلد از ادیم یا پختان ادیم کار

Appendix 3. Al-Maqrīzī's reference to the great partiality of
Sirghitmish al-Nāsirī for the company of Iranians.

From the Khīṭaṭ, IV p 258 , Cairo , 1907.

و یقرب العجم و مجلهم اجلالا زاندا ...

Appendix 4, i. Ibn Taghrī-Birdī's account of Arghūn Shāh al-Ashrafī.

From the Manhal al-Safī, Bib. Nat. Ms Arabe 2068 f. 159r.

ارغون شاه بن عبدالله الاشرفى الامير سيف
الدين احد متقدمى الآلوف بالديار المصرية فى
دولة استاذة الملك الاشرف شعبان بن حسين
وكان خصيصاً عنده الى ان حج الملك الاشرف
فى سنة ٧٧٨ ووقع له ما سنحكيه فى ترجمته
وعوده الى القاهرة عاد ارغون معه مع من
عاد من الامراء الى القاهرة واختفى
الاشرف وانفرد عن امرائه واختفى ارغون
الى ان قبض عليه وقتل فى سنة ٧٧٨
بقبة النصر خارج القاهرة .

Appendix 4,ii. Al-Maqrīzī's account of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār's acquisition of the contents of Al-Ashraf Shaḥbān's madrasah. From the Khitat, IV , p 252, Cairo 1907.

وكان مدرسة الاشرف شعبان بن حسين بن محمد
بن قلاوون التي كانت بالصورة تجاه الطبائخة من
قلعة الجبل بقية من داخلها فيها شبايك من
نحاس مكنت بالذهب والفضة وابواب مصنعة
بالنحاس البديع المصنعة المكنت ومن المصاحف
والكتب في الحديث والفقه وغير ذلك من انواع
العلوم جملة فاشترى ذلك من الملك الصالح
المنصور حاجي بن الاشرف بمبلغ ستمائة
دينار وكانت قيمتها عشرات امثال ذلك و
نقلها الى داره وكان مما فيها عشرة مصاحف
طول كل منها اربعة اشبار الى خمسة في العرض

يقرب من ذلك أحدهما بخط ياقوت وآخر بخط
ابن التواب وباقيها بخط منسوبة ولها جلود
في غاية الحسن معمولة في أكياس الحرير الأطلس
ومن الكتب النفيسة عشرة أحال جميعها مكتوب
في أوله الأشراف على الملك الأشرف بوقف ذلك
ومقره في مدرسته .

Appendix 4,iii. Al-Maqrīzī's account of Al-Nāsir Faraj's removal of
Al-Ashraf Shaḥbān's books from the madrasah of
Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār, Khitat , IV, p 253, Cairo
1907.

ثم نظر السلطان [الناصر فرج] في كتبها العلمية
الموقوفة بها فأقر منها جملة كتب بظاهر كل سفر
منها فصل يتفتمن وقف السلطان له وحمل
كثير من كتبها الى قلعة الجبل .

A complete list of Qur'an manuscripts examined in this study , including those which can be dated on grounds of calligrapher commissioner or style.

1. Mamluke Manuscripts

1. British Library, Add 22,406 - 13.

In seven parts. Fol. average per part , 155.

For Baybars al-Jāshankīr.

Probably endowed to his khānqāh.

Dated 704-705 / 1304-1306-6.

Calligrapher : Muhammad bin al-Wahīd.

Illuminator(s) : Abū Bakr 'Sandal'

Muhammad bin Mubādir

Aydughdi bin ^c Abdallāh al-Badrī

2. Chester Beatty Library, 1479.

Single volume. Fol. 235

Illuminator : Abū Bakr 'Sandal'

3. Chester Beatty Library, 1457.

Single volume. Fol. 252.

Calligrapher: Muhammad bin ^c Abdallāh bin Ahmad al-Ansārī
al-Khazrajī.

Illuminator: Muhammad bin Mubādir.

4. Ex-Sotheby , 9.10.78. (Lot 122)

Fragment.

Calligrapher: Muhammad bin ^c Abdallāh bin Ahmad al-Ansārī
al-Khazrajī.

Dated 707/ 1307.

5. Chester Beatty Library, 1437 ; Prussian State Library 31.599;

Boston Museum of Fine Arts 26.11.

Fragmentary multiple- part manuscript.

Calligrapher: probably Muhammad bin al-Wahīd.

Illuminator : probably Abū Bakr 'Sandal'

6. TIEM 450; Freer Gallery Ms 43.2 ; Boston Museum of Fine Arts 39.793.

Single volume. Unfoliated.

For Al-Nāsir Muhammad.

Dated 713 / 1313.

Calligrapher: Shādhī bin Muhammad bin Shādhī bin Dā'ūd bin [°]Isā
bin Abī Bakr bin Ayyūb.

Illuminators : Ayduḡhdī bin [°]Abdallāh al-Badrī.

[°]Alī bin Muhammad al-Rassām 'al-A[°]sar'

7. Ex-Christie, 21.7.71 (Lot 101).

Single volume. Fol. 260.

8. TIEM, 447.

Single volume. Unfoliated.

For Al-Nāsir Muhammad.

Dated 714 / 1314.

Calligrapher: [°]Alī bin Sālīm.

Illuminator: [°]Abdallah al-Safawī al-Halabī

9. Chester Beatty Library, 1481.

Single volume. Fol. 310.

Dated 720 / 1320.

10. Chester Beatty Library, 1473.

Single volume. Fol. 299.

Dated 723 / 1323 at Tripoli.

Calligrapher: Ibrāhīm bin [°]Alī bin Sanā' al-Mulk.

11. Ex-Christie (16.12.70. (Lot 214)

Single volume . Fol. 474.

Post 1340 endowment by slave-woman 'Mishkāh'

12. National Library, Cairo, 4.

Single volume. Fol. 730.

Dated unspecified endowment certificate of Al-Nāsir Muhammad

729 / 1328-9.

13. Keir Collection , VII,9.

Single volume. Fol. 300.

For Al-Nāsir Muhammad.

Dated 730 / 1330.

Calligrapher: Muhammad bin Bilbek al-Muhsinī.

14. National Library, Cairo, 55; Chester Beatty Library, uncatalogued fragment.

15. National Library, Cairo, 184.

Single volume.

Dated 731 / 1331 at Cairo.

Calligrapher: Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Kamāl bin Yahyā al-Ansārī
al-Mutatabbib.

Illuminator: probably the same man.

16. National Library, Cairo , 714.

Single volume.

Dated 732 / 1332 at Cairo.

Calligrapher and probably illuminator : as 15.

17. National Library, Cairo, 81.

Single volume. Fol. 380.

Dated 734 / 1334 at Cairo.

Calligrapher and probably illuminator: as 15.

18. Chester Beatty Library, 1476.

Juz' 27. Fol. average per part 37.

Calligrapher and probably illuminator: as 15.

19. Iran Bastan Museum , 2061.

Single volume. Fol. 746.

Dated 739 / 1339.

Calligrapher: Ahmad bin al-Muhsinī.

20. Topkapi Saray, 133.M5.

Single volume. Fol. 234.

Dated 741 / 1341.

Calligrapher: Ahmad bin Abī Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad al-Shāfi[°]
al-Qurashī al-Kātib al-Dimashqī.

21. Victoria and Albert Museum, Bute 559.

Single volume. Unfoliated.

Dated 746 / 1345.

Calligrapher: Asbughāy bin Turāy al-Sayfī (min) Arghūn Shāh
al-Ustādār al-Malikī.

22. National Library, Cairo, 111.

Single volume. Fol. 245.

Dated 74- / 134- .

Calligrapher: °Abdallāh al-Shāfi[°].

23. National Library, Cairo, 8.

Single volume. Fol. 413.

Perhaps for Al-Nāsir Hasan.

Dated 757 / 1356.

Calligrapher: Ya[°]qūb bin Khālid bin Muḥammad bin °Abdal-Rahmān
al-Hanafī.

24. National Library, Cairo, 97.

Single volume. Fol. 175.

Dated 762 / 1360-1.

Calligrapher: Muḥammad bin Hasan bin °Alī al-Nakhjawānī.

25. Chester Beatty Library, K 39.

Single volume. Fol. 305.

Dated endowment by Khwand Barakah to her madrasah, 770 / 1369.

Dated 766 / 1365.

Calligrapher: Mahmūd bin Husayn al-Shāfi[°].

26. National Library, Cairo, 80.

Fragmentary multiple-volume copy.

Dated endowment by Khand Barakah to her madrasah, 770 / 1369.

27. Bodleian Library, Cannon Or. 123.

Single volume. Fol.

Calligrapher: °Umar bin °Uthmān al-Ja°farī al-Shāfi°ī.

28. National Library, Cairo, 6.

Single volume. Fol. 319.

Dated endowment by Khwand Barakah to her madrasah , 769 / 1369.

29. National Library, Cairo, 7.

Single volume. Fol. 410.

Dated endowment by Sultan Sha°bān to his mother's madrasah , 770 / 1369.

30. National Library , Cairo , 54.

Single volume. Fol. 388.

Undated endowment of Arghūn Shāh al-Ashrafī.

31. National Library, Cairo, 9.

Two volume copy. Fol. 379, 426.

Dated endowment by Sultan Sha°bān to his mother's madrasah, 770 / 1369.

Illuminator : Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī.

32. National Library, Cairo, 10.

Single volume. Fol. 217.

Dated endowment by Sultan Sha°bān to his madrasah, 773 / 1376.

Dated 774 / 1372.

Calligrapher : °Alī bin Muhammad al-Muktib / Mukattib al-Ashrafī.

Illuminator : Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī.

33. National Library, Cairo, 15.

Single volume. Fol. 293.

For Sirghitmish al-Ashrafī

Dated 776 / 1374.

Calligrapher : Muhammad al-Muktib al-Shihābī.

Illuminator : Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī.

34. Chester Beatty Library, 1464-5; British Library Or 848; ex-Sotheby 8.4.75. (Lot 200).

Fragmentary multiple-volume copy. Fol. average per part 37.

Illuminator : Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī.

2. Ilkhanid Manuscripts.

1. Ex-Sotheby 14.7.76. (234).

Single volume. Fol.

Dated 681 / 1282 at Baghdad.

Calligrapher: Yāqūt al-Musta^csimī

Illuminator: probably a Cairo artist of 1304 - 1310.

2. Iran-Bastan Museum , 4277.

Single volume. Fol.

Dated 685 / 1286.

Calligrapher : as 1.

3. Bibliothèque Nationale , Arabe 6716.

Single volume. Fol. 211.

Dated 688 / 1289 at Baghdad.

Calligrapher: as 1.

4. Topkapi Saray , EH 74.(77?)

Single volume. Fol.251.

Dated 693 / 1294.

Calligrapher: as 1.

5. Chester Beatty Library, 1467.

Single volume. Fol. 493.

Dated 701 / 1301-2.

Calligrapher : Ahmad bin (al-Shaykh) al-Suhrawardī al-Bakrī

Corrector : Muḥammad bin ^cAbdal ^cAzīz al-Abharī.

6. Qur'an A (Baghdad)

Fragmentary multiple-volume copy. Fol. average per part 55.

Dated from 702 / 1303 to 707 / 1307-8.

Perhaps for Sultan Ghāsan.

Calligrapher : as 5.

Illuminator: Muḥammad bin Aybak bin ^cAbdallah.

7. Qur'an B.i(Baghdad).

Fragmentary multiple-volume copy. Fol. average per part 68.
For Sultan Öljaytū. Endowed to his tomb in Sultaniyyah.
Dated 706 / 1306-7 to 710 / 1311.
Calligrapher: probably as 5.
Illuminator: as 6.

8. Topkapi Saray , K 3.
Single volume. Fol. 229.
Dated 709 / 1309 -10.
Calligrapher: Mahmūd bin Muhammad bin Yūsuf ' Fakhr al-Hamadhānī'

9. Qur'an B.ii (Mosul)
Fragmentary multiple-volume copy. Fol. average per part 61.
For Sultan Öljaytū.
Dated from 706 / 1306-7 to 710 / 1311.
Calligrapher and probably illuminator: °Alī bin Muhammad bin Zayd bin
Muhammad bin Zayd bin Muhammad bin
Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Muhammad
bin °Ubaydallāh bin °Alī bin
°Ubaydallāh bin °Alī bin °Ubayd-
allāh bin al-Husayn bin °Alī bin
al-Husayn bin °Alī bin Abī Tālib.

10. TIEM , 238.
Single volume. Fol. 417.
Dated 710 / 1310-11 at Baghdad.
Calligrapher: Sulaymān bin Muhammad al-Jaylānī.

11. Topkapi Saray , K 503.
Fragmentary multiple-volume copy. Fol. average per part 29.
Dated 710 / 1311.
Calligrapher : Ahmad bin al-Rashīd.

12. Qur'an B.iii (Hamadan), National Library , Cairo, 72.
Complete multiple volume copy.
For Sultan Öljaytū. Dated endowment by Baktimur al-Sāqī to his
madrasah 726 / 1326.

Dated 713 /1313 at Hamadan.

Calligrapher and illuminator : ° Abdallāh bin Muḥammad bin Maḥmūd
al-Hamadhānī.

13. Qur'an C (Tabriz), Topkapi Saray, EH 248.

Juz' 26 of a multiple part copy. Fol. 54.

For the Vizir Rashīd al-Dīn.

Dated 715 / 1315.

Calligrapher: ° Abdallāh bin Abi'l-Qāsim bin ° Abdallāh al-Tuvī
al-Rūdrāvarī.

14. National Library, Tehran, Ar. 1597.

Single volume. Fol.

Dated 717 / 1317-18.

Calligrapher: Shams al-Dīn bin Ḥājji Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ḥāfiz.

15. TIEM K 202.

Single volume. Fol. 287.

Dated 720 /1320

Calligrapher: Arghūn al-Kāmilī.

16. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, W 559.

Single volume. Fol. 432

Dated 723 / 1323.

Calligrapher: Mubārak-Shāh bin Qutb

Illuminator : probably Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī

17. British Library, Add 7222.

Single volume. Fol. 467.

Dated 728 /1328 at Sabzavar.

Calligrapher: ° Alī bin Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāfiz Sabzavarī
'Āḍar'.

18. Chester Beatty Library, 1468.

Juz' 20 of a multiple-volume copy. Fol. 46.

Dated 728 / 1328.

Calligrapher. Perhaps ° Abdallāh al-Sayrafī (spelled 'Sīrafī')

19. Ex-Sabri Collection, 103.

Single volume. Fol. ?

Dated 728 / 1328.

Calligrapher: ^cAlī al-(Abard?)abādī.

20. Topkapi Saray, EH 151.

Single volume. Fol. 273.

Dated 730 / 1329-30.

Calligrapher : Arghūn al-Kāmilī.

Illuminator: Muḥammad bin Sayf al-Dīn al-Naqqāsh.

21. TIEN K 73.

Single volume. Unfoliated.

Dated 733 / 1332-3.

Calligrapher: Muḥammad bin Ḥajjī Dawlat-Shāh al-Shīrāsī.

22. Chester Beatty Library, 1469; Ex-Sotheby 27.4.82. (Lots 207-3)

Fragmentary multiple-volume copy. Foll. average per part 44.

Later endowment to the Farḥāniyyah Madrasah in Ta^oiss , circa 1375.

Dated 734 / 1333-4.

Calligrapher: Amīr Ḥajj bin Ahmad al-Sayinī.

3. Post-Ilkhanid Manuscripts.

1. Astan-i Quds, Meshhed, 293.

Single-volume with commentary. Fol 356.

Dated 737 / 1337.

Calligrapher: Muhammad bin Shaykh Yūsuf (al?) Ābarī 'Sayyid al-Khattāt'

2. John Rylands Library , Arabic 760-73 ; Chester Beatty Library, 1606,1630; Los Angeles County Museum of Art , 73.5490.

Fragmentary multiple-volume copy.

3. Chester Beatty Library, 1609; Ex-Spinks 24.4.80.(Lot 59); Cincinnati Museum of Art (un-numbered); Metropolitan Museum, 62.152.8 ; Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 24.416.

4. Chester Beatty Library, 1458.

Juz' 21 from a multiple-volume copy. Fol. 149.

5. Chester Beatty Library, 1487; National Library, Tehran (?)
Fragmentary copy. Fol. 109.

6. Chester Beatty Library , 1470; Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 29.57-8.

Fragmentary multiple volume copy. Fol. average per part 22.

Dated 738 / 1338 at Maraghah.

Calligrapher: °Abdallāh bin Ahmad bin Fadlallāh bin °Abdal-Hamīd
al-Qādī.

7. Bayazit Library, Istanbul , 8056.

Single volume. Unfoliated.

Dated 738 / 1337.

Calligrapher: Arghūn al-Kāmīlī.

Illuminator: Muhammad bin Sayf al-Dīn al-Naqqāsh

8. TIEM , K 452.

Single volume. Unfoliated.

Dated 739 / 1338-9.

Calligrapher : Yahyā al-Jamālī al-Sūfī.

Illuminator: possibly Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī.

9. Chester Beatty Library, 1475.

Single volume copy. Fol. 215.

Dated 734 / 1339-40.

Calligrapher Yahyā al-Jamālī al-Sūfī.

Later Ottoman illumination.

10. TIEN , K 452.

Single volume. Unfoliated.

Dated 740 / 1340-1.

Calligrapher: Arghūn al-Kāmilī.

Illuminator: Muhammad bin Sayf al-Dīn al-Naqqāsh.

11. Chester Beatty Library, 1498.

Fragment.

Calligrapher: as 10.

Illuminator: as 10.

12. Topkapi Saray , Y 365.

Single volume. Fol. 251.

Dated 744/ 1343-4 at Cairo.

Calligrapher: Mubārak-Shāh bin Ahmad al-Dimashqī al-Suyūfī.

Illuminator: possibly Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī.

13. Salar Jang Museum, Hyderabad, 182.

Single volume. Fol. 335.

Dated 74- / 134- at Cairo.

Calligrapher : Mubārak-Shāh bin Ahmad al-Dimashqī al-Suyūfī.

14. Pars Museum, 456(?)

Fragmentary multiple-volume copy. Fol. average per part, 42.

With endowment certificate by Tāshī-Khātūn giving it to the Shāh-i Chirāgh Mosque in Shiraz , circa 1345.

Dated 744 - 745 / 1344-5.

Calligrapher : Yahyā al-Jamālī al-Sūfī.

Illuminator: Hamzah bin Muhammad al-^cAlawī

15. Topkapi Saray, IH 475.

Single volume. Unfoliated.

Dated 746 / 1345-6 at Tabriz.

Calligrapher: Tāhir bin Abi'l-Mukārim al-Zakā'ī.

16. Pars Museum, 410(?)

Fragmentary multiple-volume copy. Unfoliated.

Endowment certificate of Tūrān-Shāh to the Jāmi^o al-^oAtīq, Shiraz,
777 / 1375-6.

4. Manuscripts of Questionable Provenance.

1. National Library, Cairo, 60.

Fragmentary multiple part manuscript. Fol. average per part 55.
Endowment certificate of Sirghitmish al-Nāsirī to his madrasah,
757 / 1356.

2. Chester Beatty Library, 1455.

Single volume. Fol. 155.

For Al-Nāsir , Nāsir al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn (?)

3. TIEM , K 261.

Single volume. Unfoliated.

Dated 716 / 1316-17.

Calligrapher: Tūqtamūr bin °Abdal-Rassāq al-Shihābī.